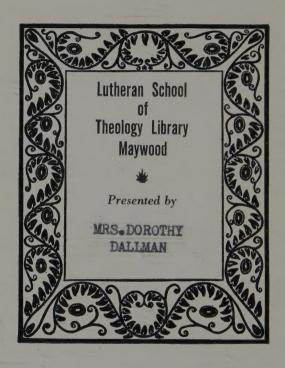
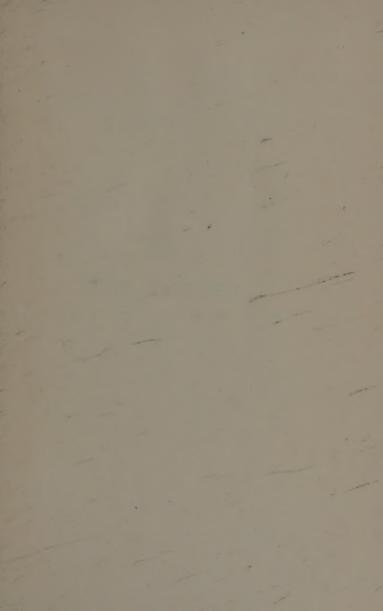


William Ballmann



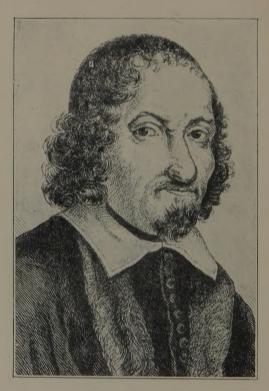






Miles Coverdale





Miles Coverdale
Bishop of Exeter

After an engraving by Thomas Trotter.

Miles Coverdale

Bishop of Exeter, Translator of the First Complete English Bible, Translator of Works of Luther and Others, Translator of the First English Lutheran Hymnbook, Twice Lutheran Pastor in Germany

William Dallmann

THIRD PRINTING



St. Louis, Mo. concordia publishing house 1925 As English-speaking Lutherans we are, of course, interested to learn how Lutheranism came to the English. This may be shown in the life of Miles Coverdale, who lived under Henry VIII, Edward VI, Bloody Mary, and Elizabeth. He translated the Bible into English, he translated Lutheran hymns into English, he translated other Lutheran works into English. What he and others did in England four hundred years ago, we must do in America to-day — put Lutheranism into English.

Most of the matter in this booklet appeared in The Walther League Messenger and in the Proceedings of the English District of 1921.

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MILES COVERDALE.

I. Coverdale Comes under Luther's Influence.

Miles Coverdale was born in 1488 in Yorkshire, in the north of England, and in 1514 became a priest under Bishop John of Chalcedon at Norwich, and then entered the Augustinian cloister at Cambridge.

"A reformation is needed; and that reformation must begin with the bishops and be extended to the priests," Dean Colet told the clergy in 1511, and he was almost burned for putting the Lord's Prayer into English for the people.

The Reformation came, made in Germany; Cardinal Gasquet correctly calls it "the Lutheran invasion"

The monk that shook the world posted his famous Ninety-five Theses on October 31, 1517; in January, Erasmus sent him greetings and on March 5 forwarded the Theses, with favorable comment, to Sir Thomas More, the greatest Englishman of his day, and to John Colet, the famous Dean of St. Paul's.

On February 14, 1519, John Froben, the Basel printer, wrote Luther his books were going to Italy, Spain, Brabant, and England. "We have sold out all your books except ten copies, and never remember to have sold any more quickly."

In May, Erasmus wrote Wolsey, England's most magnificent cardinal and statesman: "The man's life is approved by the unanimous consent of all, and the fact that his character is so upright that

Miles Coverdale.



Martin Luther.

even his enemies find nothing to slander in it must considerably prejudice us in his favor." On the 30th he wrote Luther: "Dearest brother in Christ, your epistle, showing the keenness of your mind and breathing a Christian spirit, was most pleasant to me. I cannot tell what commotion your books are raising here. . . . In England there are men who think well of your writings, and they the very greatest. . . . I have looked over your commentaries on the Psalms, which pleased me very much." One of these "very greatest" may be King Henry's sister Mary, widow of King Louis XII of France, married to the Duke of Suffolk; at least one of Luther's books is decorated with the coat of arms of the Duke of Suffolk.

On March 3, 1520, G. Cowper writes his father at London: "As for newes ther ys none, but of late ther was herytykes here which did take Luters opinyons." The day-book of John Dorne, an Oxford bookseller, shows that many books of Luther were sold there in 1520.

In May, Erasmus wrote Melanchthon: "It was decided that his [Luther's] books should be burned in England, but I stopped this by writing letters to Cardinal Wolsey. . . . Almost all good men favor Luther. . . . Luther's answer to the condemnation of Cologne and Louvain wonderfully pleased me."

When Kaiser Maximilian I died on January 12, 1519, King Henry VIII of England also threw his hat into the ring to win the German crown because he was — "of the German tongue"! as Richard Pace was to urge on the German electors at Frankfort. Pace reported the money of France and Spain was flowing on all sides and also asked for money to buy the kaiserly crown, though of the opinion the empire was "the dearest merchandise that ever was sold,"

and would prove "the worst that ever was bought to him that shall obtain it." Francis I spent three million crowns: Karl, twelve million dollars. With



Charles V.

the favor of Frederick of Saxony (although Frederick refused to take his money) he won ou June 28. The nineteen-year-old Kaiser set out to be crowned at Aachen, and Henry crossed over to meet his unsuc-

cessful rival in July, 1520, at the famous Field of the Cloth of Gold and talked with Erasmus about his "writing against Luther," who was excommunicated the same year. At the same time the learned Italian bishop of Wells, Polydore Vergil, spoke of the importation of a great number of "Lutheran books."

On September 13 Erasmus wrote Pope Leo: "Luther wrote well on the Scriptures. It was above the mediocrity of my learning and talents" to write against him. "It is much easier to conquer Luther with bulls and smoke than with arguments. . . . There are many things in Luther's books which are worthy of being known. . . . All who have written against him have composed nothing worth reading. . . . Among those who wish Luther dead I see no good man. The letters of Adrian of Utrecht [later Pope Adrian VI] are full of bitterness; he favors disciples worthy of himself, vain, deceitful, ambitious, and revengeful."

On January 21, 1521, Cuthbert Tunstall, the English ambassador at Worms, writes Cardinal Wolsey of the Germans' devotion to Luther and sends his *Babylonian Captivity*—"there is much strange opinion in it near to the opinions of Boheme; I pray God keep that book out of England." He beseeches Erasmus by "Christ's Passion and glory...yea, and the Church itself prays and desires you to engage in combat with this hydra."

On March 8 Archbishop Warham wrote Cardinal Wolsey some of Oxford were infected with the "heresyes of Luther... the herying wherof should be right delectable and pleasant to open Lutheranes

beyond the see", it was a pity that "a small number of meireumspect fools should endanger the whole university with the charge of Lutheranism"



Pope Leo X.

In April, King Henry saw Pope Leo's bull and brief commanding the public burning of Luther's books and said "that it was very joyous to have these tidings from the Pope's holiness at such a time, as he had taken upon him the defense of Christ's Church with his pen afore the receipt of the said tidings," and asked Wolsey to arrange that all such as were appointed to examine Luther's books should "be congregated for his highness' perceiving." In all England a search for Lutheran books was ordered; within fifteen days "all writings and books of Martin Luther, heretic," were to be given up, or the owners would be burned alive.

On Sunday, May 12, the government burned Luther's books, Bishop John Fisher of Rochester preaching Again ye pernicious doctryn of Martin Luther, "reprobating the friar Martin" and upholding the authority of the Pope. King Henry, Cardinal Wolsey, the foreign ambassadors, and 30,000 Londoners saw the fire. In the same year, if not earlier, Luther's works were burned at the University of Cambridge after having been examined by Drs. Humfry, Watson, Bullock, and Ridley.

In the diocese of Lincoln four were burned, and fifty had to swear off publicly—some had recited the Ten Commandments in English in their own houses, others had spread St. Matthew and St. Mark in English. Colleges at Cambridge and Oxford had made war even on the Greek New Testament.

These burnings warmed Henry up so as to ask Duke Louis of Bavaria to go the limit against the German heretic, and on the 30th he wrote Kaiser Karl, "begging, admonishing, and conjuring His Majesty to root up the poisonous weed of heresy and extirpate both Luther and his pestilent books with fire and sword for the honor of Holy Church

and the papal See." In reply the Kaiser sent his declaration of April 19 that he was ready to lay down his life and crown to hold up the religion of his fathers and root up the heresy so obstinately held by a single erring monk against all Christendom. Erasmus had written Lipsius of Brussels: "They are starting a foolish and pernicious tragedy against Luther."

Wolsey gave Luther's Babylonian Captivity to Henry, and urged him to refute it. Secretary Richard Pace found Henry reading it on April 16 - "he will make an end of his book within a few days." In July came out the King's Assertion of the Seven Sacraments against Martin Luther. On October 2 John Clark presented the Pope with a copy bound in cloth of gold, with a dedicatory epistle and a Latin couplet written in Henry's own royal hand. "His Holiness gave the book a great commendation and said there was therein much wit and clerkly conveyance, and how that there were many clerks who had written in the matter, but this book should seem to pass all theirs." To Cardinal Wolsey Cardinal Campegi wrote he was "overcome with joy at reading the king's golden book, inspired more by an angelic and celestial than by a human spirit." On the 11th the Pope in full consistory gave — confirmed? — to Henry the title of "Defender of the Faith," still proudly borne by England's kings.

On the 27th Richard Pace wrote Wolsey: "Itt is to Hys Graces grete contentacion and comforte to have understonde att large... how lovingly the



Title Page of Henry VIII.'s Book Against Luther.

Popis Holynesse haith acceptidde hys bokes wretyn agaynst Luther."

The Pope granted to all readers of this book an indulgence for ten years and ten periods of forty days. In order that his people, too, might get the

papal boon, the bearded George of Saxony had the "golden book" put into German.

The king held the papacy was of divine right, to which Sir Thomas More objected, just like Luther in 1519 at Leipzig against Eck.

The king writes: "If indulgences are impostures, then all the Popes are impostors, and it is easier to believe that one little friar is a diseased sheep than that all the Popes of old were perfidious shepherds." Now all the world knows the indulgences are impostures, and candid Catholics admit it.

The king treats Luther with contempt, calling him "friarlet, doctorlet, saintlet, eruditelet." The English court is so courteous—"What pest so pernicious? What serpent so poisonous? What a wolf of hell is he! What a limb of Satan! How rotten is his mind!"

Excellent arguments, to be sure; but the saintly Henry is at his best when he comes to marriage: "The insipid water of concupiscence is turned by the hidden grace of God unto wine of the finest flavor. Whom God has joined together let no man put asunder. O wonderful word, such as no man could have uttered save the Word which was made flesh!... Who does not tremble when he considers how he should deal with his wife? For not only is he bound to love her, but so to live with her that he may return her to God pure and without stain when God, who gave, shall demand His own again."

We are amazed, amused, confused. Verily, "the proper study of mankind is man."

In June, 1522, the Saxon monk read the Anglo-Saxon king's book and in July paid the royal ruffian

in like coin and with compound interest; he had the will and the ability to do so. "So great a name as that of the English Henry mixed up in the dispute, and beaten, served to give éclat, to render it more curious, and to conciliate general favor towards Luther," writes Paolo Sarpi, the greatest Venetian. Who started it? "I think it is their fault if Luther has written too intemperately," Erasmus had told the great Cardinal-Archbishop-Elector Albrecht of Mainz on November 1, 1519. More than once Erasmus said kind words would have done more for peace than all the biting sarcasm and unmeasured invective launched against Luther, and in this way puts the responsibility for "the tragedy" of Lutheranism upon the theologians, and in part especially upon the Dominicans and Carmelites. "Ass, pig, sow, heretic, antichrist, pest of the world," are samples named by Erasmus of the epithets hurled from the pulpit, or more deliberately set up in type, as arguments against Luther.

Henry was enraged and demanded that the Saxon rulers down "that execrable sect of Luther . . . with blood if it cannot be done otherwise."

The example of the king was followed by many. The saintly Sir Thomas More, the greatest wit of England, called Luther an ass, a liar, a cursed beast, a drunkard, an evil angel of Satan, a plain limb of the devil, a manifest messenger of hell, an apostate, an open incestuous lecher, and mocked at "Friar Luther and Cate Callate, his nun, lusking together in lechery." "Luther and his counselors disperse themselves throughout all the wagons, vehicles, and boats, the baths, eating-houses, and barber-shops, the



Henry VIII.

taverns, brothels, bake-shops, privies, and houses of ill fame; in these places they diligently observe and write down on tablets whatever the wagon driver has said basely, or the slave servilely, or the drunkard wickedly, or the parasite scurrilously, or the harlot petulantly, or the bawd vilely, or the bathman obscenely. . . . When they have done this for several months, they stuff the whole nasty mixture of reviling, scolding, scurrility, jeers, petulance, filth, dirt, mud, mire, and dung into the fetid sewer of Luther's breast." And the worst cannot be printed nowadays. This from the pen of "the demigod of England, or rather of Europe," as Luther called More. Though More's friend and Luther's enemy, even Erasmus was disgusted with More's billingsgate.

Bishop Fisher was "a man of strict life" and "hated Wolsey for his vices"; in 1519 he fiercely denounced the vices of the clergy and boldly looked at the cardinal. This good bishop attacked Luther a second time, in A Confutation of the Lutheran Assertion, 1523; a third time, in a Reply to Luther's "Babylonian Captivity." 1523; a fourth time in a Defense of the Christian Priesthood, 1524; a fifth time, in a Defense of King Henry's "Assertion of the Seven Sacraments," 1525. This best and most learned of the English bishops could stoop to write: "Now Luther is become a big fox. . . . What do I say?... a fox? He is a mad dog, a ravening wolf, a cruel bear, or rather all those animals in one; for the monster includes many beasts within him." Fisher often expressed his high admiration of the writings of the Lutherans and only wondered how they could come from heretics.

When Pope Leo X damns Luther; when Emperor Charles V bans Luther; when King Henry VIII writes a book against Luther; when Cardinal Wolsey founds a college against Luther; when the



Erasmus.

learned Bishop Fisher of Rochester preaches sermons against Luther; when the Lord Chaucellor of England, the learned and witty Sir Thomas More, writes books against Luther; when a grand state

occasion is made of burning the books of Luther; when universities and professors are searched for books of Luther: then Luther is the best-advertised man in the world, and interest in him is awakened. spread, and kept alive.

"The continuous stream of Lutheran literature" poured into English seaports in 1521, and two years later Humphry Monmouth, an educated, wealthy, and traveled cloth merchant, later an alderman and a sheriff, living near the Tower, bought and studied the works of Luther. Here William Tyndale became acquainted with them. "There can be no question that from this time onwards Luther occupied the highest place in his esteem and exercised very considerable influence over his opinions," says Demaus.

In 1523 Bishop Tunstall of London wrote that Wyclif's Lollards were the first to welcome Lutheranism into Britain. In the same year Henry sent Lee, the future Archbishop of York, to give the Garter to Archduke Ferdinand of Austria and to commend his zeal against the Lutherans.

The zeal grew heated enough to burn. True. Pope Hadrian did not succeed in his efforts to burn Luther, but the Dutchman burned two Dutch Lutheran youths, Henry Voes and John van den Eschen; on July 1, 1523, they went from Brussels to glory in their fiery chariots, singing the Creed. They were the first Lutheran martyrs; Heinrich von Zuetphen was another, December 10, 1524. Luther wept at not being found worthy to die for the faith, and then sang his first song, the truly popular ballad in honor of the two martyred boys, which John Wesley put into English.



Pope Hadrian VI.

About this time Robert Barnes became the prior of the Augustinians at Cambridge, and "caused the house shortly to flourish with good letters, and made a great part of the house learned, who before were drowned in barbarous ignorance." They studied the classics and the Greek New Testament. Thomas Bilney read Luther's works and the New Testament.



Heinrich Moller von Zuetphen.

1 Tim. 1, 15 converted him as Rom. 1, 16 converted Luther. Bilney became "the first framer of that university in the knowledge of Christ" and converted Latimer, Robert Barnes, and others. We know twenty-seven young "Lutherans" who studied at "The White Horse" inn. which therefore was de-

rided as "Germany," and on their way there they were jeered, "There are the Germans going to Germany!" and where they took their walks was known as "Heretics' Hill." Some of them became famous, among them Miles Coverdale.

Cardinal Wolsey's "contempt of the clergy was looked on as that which gave encouragement to the heretics. When reports were brought to court of a company that were in Cambridge, Bilney, Latimer, and others that read and propagated Luther's books and opinions, some bishops moved, in the year 1523, that there might be a visitation appointed to go to Cambridge, for trying who were the fautors of heresy there. But he, as legate, did inhibit it." Later he had to call a meeting, and Bilney was ordered not to preach "Luther's doctrines." He replied: "I will not preach Luther's doctrines, if there are any peculiar to him, but I must preach the doctrine of Jesus Christ, although Luther should preach it too."

In his first sermon on the Lord's Prayer, Bishop Hugh Latimer declares: "I was as obstinate a papist as any was in England, insomuch that, when I should be made a Bachelor of Divinity, my whole oration went against Philip Melanehthon and against his opinions. Then having met Master Bilney, or rather St. Bilney, that suffered death for Christ's sake, I learned more by his confession than before in many years, so that from that time forward I began to smell the Word of God and forsook the school doctors and such fooleries." Thomas Cranmer also read the Bible and Luther's books and about 1525

began to pray privately for the end of the Pope's power in England. In this year King Henry made a treaty with France against the Turk and "the Lutheran sect, hardly less dangerous than the Turk."

In May, 1524, Tyndale came to Wittenberg, "the little town which had suddenly become the sacred city of the Reformation," as Green puts it, and rightly, for Bishop Scultetus says certain travelers, "as they came in sight of the town, they returned thanks to God with clasped hands, for from Wittenberg, as hitherto from Jerusalem, the light of evangelical truth had spread to the uttermost parts of the earth."

Tyndale is likely the first Englishman to register at the university—"Guilielmus Daltici ex Anglia 27 Maij 1524." His assistant, William Roy, registered June 10, 1525. About the same time Thomas Dusgate, a Master of Arts of Cambridge, "feeling himself much cumbered with the concupiscence of the flesh and too weak to overcome it, . . . he departed from Cambridge and went to Luther in Germany." Hearing of the "great frailty," Luther advised "that if by no lawful means he could not live chast, that he should take a wif and lyve a meane life." This he did and was burned for his faith on January 15, 1532.

Tyndale Englished the New Testament under Luther's "immediate direction," says Froude, and early in 1525 took his "Lutheran translation," as Green calls it, to Cologne, where Quentel printed three thousand copies of Matthew and Mark. John Cochlaeus, whom the papists call "the scourge of Luther," heard the printers talk of all England's

becoming Lutheran in a short time and had the printing stopped. Tyndale fled to Worms, "full of the rage of Lutheranism," where Peter Schoeffer printed three thousand copies of "the Lutheran New Testament, translated into the English language." It seems that Humphrey Monmouth and other London merchants furnished the money. Tyndale borrowed many passages from Luther "as the reader speedily begins to suspect from the characteristic ring of the sentences," and the Athenaeum says a comparison of the two Testaments "fully justifies the assertion that he reproduced in English Luther's German Testament."

Gairdner writes: "He took counsel in the matter with Luther at Wittenberg, where, it would rather seem, he printed, as early as the beginning of 1525, an English translation of the two first gospels on the model of Luther's New Testament of 1522."

On December 2, 1525, Dr. Edward Lee, the almoner of Henry VIII, wrote the king from Bordeaux: "Please it your highnesse morover to understond that I ame certainlie enformed as I passed in this contree that an englishman your subject at the sollicitacion and instaunce of Luther with whome he is hathe translated the newe testament in to Englishe and within four dayes entendethe to arrive with the same emprinted in England. I nede not to advertise your grace what infection and daunger maye ensue heerbie if it bee not withstonded. This is the next [nearest] waye to fulfill [fill] your realme with lutherians. For all Luther's perverse opinions be grounded upon bare words of Scripture. . . All our forefathers, governors of the

Church of England, have with all diligence forbid English Bibles. . . . The integrity of the Christian faith within your realm cannot long endure if these books may come in. Hidretoo blessed bee god your realme is save from infection of luthers sect," etc.

On February 24, 1527 (?), Robert Ridley wrote to Henry Gold, chaplain to the Archbishop of Canterbury: "Maister gold I hartly commaunde me vnto vou as concernyng this common & vulgare translation of the new testament in to englishe doon by M. William hichens other wais called M. W. tyndale & frear William roy manifest lutheranes heretikes & apostates as doth opynly apeir not only by their daily & continuall company & familiarite with Luther & his disciples but mych mor by their commentares & annotations in Mathew & Marcum in the first print also by their preface in the 2d prent & by their introduccion in to the epistle of paule ad romanes al to gither most posoned & abhominable hereses that can be thowht he is not filius ecclesiae Christi" (not a son of the Church of Christ).

In his Commentaria, Cochlaeus writes: "Two English apostates who sometime had been at Wittenberg, not only were seeking to ruin their own merchants, who secretly were fostering and supporting them in exile; but they were even hoping for all the people of England, whether the king were willing or unwilling, soon to become Lutherans, through Luther's New Testament, which they had translated into the English language. . . . Three thousand copies of the Lutheran New Testament, translated into the English language, were in the



John Cochlaeus.

press, and that they had proceeded as far as the letter K in the order of quires."

Green writes: "It came as part of the Lutheran movement; it bore the Lutheran stamp in its ver-

sion of ecclesiastical words." And for this reason Sir Thomas More thought he found a thousand errors in it.

George Herman, or Harman, of Antwerp, and Simon Fish, a member of the University of Oxford and a lawyer of Gray's Inn, were the first to spread the works. Fish sold to Robert Necton "now five, now ten, to the number of twenty or thirty." He also wrote A Supplicacyon for the Beggers, a trenchant satire on the vice and greed of the clergy. It was composed in Germany "and conveyed by Means of the Lady Anne Bullan, to the Perusal of King Harry, at the beginning of the said Rupture, and how the copies thereof were strewed about, at the King's Procession to Westminster (the first example, as some think, of that kind of Appeal to the Public)." It influenced Henry for the Reformation. Sir Thomas More replied with A Supplicacyon of Soulus, a heavy folio falling flat.

Barnes returned from the continent with Lutheran books and on Sunday, December 24, 1525, in St. Edward's Church reproduced Luther's sermon on Phil. 4, 4, and also attacked Wolsey's luxury. Gardiner writes: "Barnes, whom I knewe fyrst at Cambridge, a trymme minion frere Augustine, one of a merye skoffynge witte frerelike, and as a good felowe in company was beloved of many, a doctour of divinitie he was, but never like to have proved to be either martyre or confessor in christes religion, and yet he began there to exercise raylinge (which amonge such as newly profess christ, is a great peece of connynge, and a great forwardness to reputacion, speciallye if he rayle of Byshops as

Barnes began, and to please suche of the lower sort as envieth ever auctoritie) cheffye againste my lorde Cardinall, then, under the Kinges maiesty, having the high administracion of the realme."

Of course, Barnes was accused of heresy. Dr. Nottoris begged him to recant, but the prior was firm. Suddenly he was arrested, and search was made for Luther's books; but Dr. Forman had sent word to the thirty suspects, and the books were hid. The Lutheran doctrines were discussed with great heat, "one preaching against another." Dragged to Westminster, Barnes stoutly stood up against the cardinal. Turn or burn! Barnes would burn, but Gardiner got him to turn.

Coverdale escaped a personal accusation and went with Barnes to help draw up a defense for him, in 1526.

Coverdale was a visitor at the Home of Sir Thomas More (?) at Easter and there met Thomas Cromwell. To him he writes, May 1, 1527 (?): "Now I begin to taste of Holy Scriptures: now, honor be to God! I am set to the most sweet smell of holy letters, unto whose knowledge I cannot attain without diversity of books, as is not unknown to your most excellent wisdom. Nothing in the world I desire but books," and he will be guided by Cromwell's advice. On August 27 he writes again: "If I knew that my coming to London might stand with your favor, truly, the bird was never gladder of day than I would be to come."

About 1524 Wolsey suppressed twenty-two smaller monasteries for their immorality and with the funds, about 8,000 pounds, founded the very splendid Car-

dinal College at Oxford, now known as Christ Church, and called a number of bright young Cambridge men as teachers.—"The chiefest Lutheran at this time was John Clark.... So great a respect had they for his doctrine and exemplary course of life that they would often recur to him for resolution of doubts. They also had their private meetings, wherein they conferred about promotion of their religion. They prayed together and read certain books containing the principles of Luther."

"Lutheranism increased daily. . . . Many eminent men did dispute and preach in the university against it, yet the Lutherans proceeded and took all private occasion to promote their doctrine."

The first Lutheran Publicity Bureau was "The Association of Christian Brothers," formed in London about 1525, to sell "Luther's New Testament in English" and other Lutheran books. This was heresy, and for this they risked their lives. One of them was Thomas Garret, a Fellow of Magdalen College, curate of All Hallows Church, Honey Lane, in London. He brought the forbidden books to Oxford "and dispersed them among the students. . . . A privy-search was intended to be made for him in that university. But one Cole, of Magdalen College, afterwards cross-bearer unto the cardinal, gave secret warning of this to a friend or two of Garret's and advised them to persuade him to be gone. And now a great many in Oxon became suspected in religion, as they might well be; for they fell very hard upon reading these books and gathered much light in religion from them: namely, Delaber, of Alban Hall; Clark, Sumner, Bets, Taverner, Radley, Frith, Cox, Drum, and others, of St. Frideswyde's College, or the Cardinal's College, now Christ's Church; Udal, and Diet, and others, of Corpus Christi; Eeden of Magdalen College; others of Glocester College; two monks of St. Austin's, of Canterbury, named Lungport; and John Salisbury, of St. Edmund's Bury; two White Monks of Bernard College; two canons of St. Mary's College, one whereof was Robert Farrar, afterwards a bishop and a martyr; and divers more."

About May, John Pykas "bought a New Testament in English and paid for it four shillings, which New Testament he kept and read it through many times," as he testified before Bishop Tunstall on March 7, 1528. All were thrown into prison, some were exiled. Clark "died in August, 1528, of a distemper occasioned by the stench of the prison in which he was confined." So did Sumner.

Wood's History of the Oxford Academy tells us in 1526 "the followers of Luther held private meetings at Oxford and confessed the truth with such constancy that they preferred to be imprisoned all their lifetime or even be reduced to ashes together with their books rather than revoke the received doctrine."

Warham again wrote Wolsey "with respect to the most accursed works of Luther," and Wolsey called it the "hellish Lutheran heresy."

King Christian II of Denmark told Luther King Henry favored the Gospel and got Luther to write a very friendly letter on September 1, 1525, to which the king replied on March 20, both printed in August by Richard Pynson. Henry says Luther "fell in deuvce with one or two leude persons borne in this our realme for the translatying of the Newe testament in to Englysshe as well with many corruptions of that holy text as certayne prefaces and other pestylent gloses in the margentes for the aduauncement and settyng forthe of his abhomynable heresves entendynge to abuse the gode myndes and deuotion that you oure derely beloued people beare towarde the holy scrypture & to enfect you with the deedly corruption and contagious odour of his pestylent errours." Luther had not only scraped together all the old heresies, "but hath also added some so poysoned pointes of his owne, so wretched, so vyle, so detestable, provokynge men to myschefe. encoragyng the worlde to syn, preaching an unsatiate lyberte, to allecte [allure] them withall."

At eight o'clock in the morning of Shrove Sunday, February 11, 1526, at St. Paul's, Cardinal Wolsey, with thirty-six abbots, priors, and bishops, "in gowns of damask and satin," sat enthroned on a great platform "in purple, euen like a bloudy Antichrist." Bishop Fisher of Rochester preached Against Luther and Dr. Barnes from Luke 18, 42, the lesson for Quinquagesima. "To all them that be not ouer peruersedly drowned in the heresies of Luther it shall appare (as I verily suppose) that his doctryne is veray pestilent and pernitious." Barnes bare his five fagots and thus helped burn "large basketfuls" of Lutheran books at the large crucifix at the north gate of the Cathedral; and four German merchants did the same.

Bishop Tunstall, in a sermon at Paul's Cross, denounced Tyndale's Testament for having 3,000



Bishop Fisher.

errors, and then burned the books. On October 24 this mildest of the bishops said: "Many children of iniquity maintainers of Luther's sect, blinded through extreme wickedness and wandering from

the way of truth and the Catholic faith, craftily have translated the New Testament into our English tongue," etc. On November 3 Archbishop Warham ordered a search for the English New Testament and other forbidden books. More wrote Epistola contra Pomeranum, against Bugenhagen.

Before the close of 1526 appeared Tyndale's famous *Prolog to the Epistle to the Romans*, a paraphrase of Luther's great work. More attacked it for "bringing its readers into a false understanding of St. Paul." Prior John Ashwell complained of George Joye's "Lutronus opinions."

On June 14, 1527, the aged Bishop Nix of Norwich gave ten marks to help Warham in the "gracious and blessed deed" of buying up and burning the New Testament, "and God, I doubt not, shall highly reward you therefor"! The bishops furnishing the money for Tyndale to print more Testaments — capital joke! Another good one: On St. Martin's Eve, November 10, 1527, Master Rightwise of St. Paul's School had the boys entertain King Henry and his court with a play representing "the heretic Luther like a party friar in russet damask and black taffety and his wife like a frow of Almayn in red silk." And yet it was reported by many the king "wolde that they shulde have the arroneous boks."

On February 12, 1528, "the great God the Cardinal" Wolsey sent Dr. Stephen Gardiner and Dr. Edward Fox to get Pope Clement VII to divorce Catherine from King Henry.

"Hamilton was the first man after the erection of the university who put forth a series of theses to be publicly defended. These theses were conceived in the most evangelical spirit and were maintained with great learning. It was by my advice that he



Pope Clement VII.

published them," says Francis Lambert, the first French monk to be converted by Luther's writings, and the first president of Marburg, the first Protestant university. Hamilton's doctrine was based on Luther's Freedom of a Christian Man: his theses were translated by John Frith and embodied by Knox and Fox, and so became a corner-stone of Protestant theology both in Scotland and England." He was burned in 1528.



Patrick Hamilton.

Out in Essex two countrymen left for London for Tyndale's New Testaments, which they got from Robert Barnes, and in that country Miles Coverdale worked for the teachings of the Bible. On the fourth Sunday in Lent, March 29, 1528, he preached at Bumpstead against confession made to a priest and against worshiping images in the church. This, of course, was heresy; he left his order and fled. Fox says he helped Tyndale at Hamburg in 1529, probably Marburg, where Luft had a branch printery.

In 1528 appeared The Obedience of a Christen Man by Tyndale, of which Preserved Smith says: "It is so thoroughly Lutheran in its thought that it reads like a translation of the Reformer's own words." It is Tyndale's defense of the Lutherans from the charge that "they caused insurrection and taught the people to disobey their heads and governors, and to rise against their princes, and to make all common, and to make havoc of other men's goods." It fell into the hands of Anne Boleyn and through her into the hands of Henry—"This book is for me and all kings to read!" Strype says this book made Henry shake off the rule of the Pope. Now the Lutherans were no longer the only ones in all the wide world to reject the Holy Father.

A reply came in 1529 — A dyaloge of Syr Thomas More . . . touching the pestylent sect of Luther and Tyndale, by the tone bygone in Saxony, and by the tother laboryed to be brought into England. Tyndale "hath not only sowked out the most poison that he could find through all Luther's books, or take of him by mouth, and all that he hath spette out in his book, but hath also in many things far passed his master." He also complained to Cochlaeus: "Germany now daily bringeth forth monsters more deadly than Africa was wont to do; but alas, she is not alone. Numbers of Englishmen who would not a few years ago even hear of Luther's name mentioned are now publishing his praises.

England now is like the sea which swells and heaves before a great storm, without any wind stirring."

In the same year came out Tyndale's Parable of the Wicked Mammon, a work on justification by faith, based on Luther. More calls it "a very treasury and well-spring of wickedness, a book by which many have been beguiled and brought into many wicked heresies."

An Exposition in to the seventh chaptre of the first pistle to the Corinthians. At Malborow in the londe of Hesse. MDXXIX. XX daye Junii. By my Hans Luft was likely translated by Tyndale. Also likely by Tyndale — A Pistle to the Christen Reder. The Revelation of Antichrist. Antithesis wherein are compared togeder Christes actes and our holye father, the Popes. 1529. 8vo. Printed by Hans Luft at Malborow in Hesse. It is Luther's Passional Christi.

Bishop Nix of Norwich said he had done what he could to suppress the Lutheran books, but that it had passed his power; that many in his diocese said openly that the king favored such books, and that the king wished to have the New Testament published in English. Every clerk coming from Gunwell Hall at Cambridge ought to be burned, "though he speak never so holily."

Henry read Luther's books, and on April 3, 1529, Cardinal Campegi wrote: "I told the king that this was the devil dressed in angel's garb in order that he might the more easily deceive. I represented that by councils and theologians it had been determined that the Church justly held her temporal goods. His Majesty remarked that the Lutherans



William Tyndale.

say that these decisions were arrived at by theologians, insinuating that it was now necessary for the laity to interpose," and then attacked the wickedness of the papal court.

Coming from the Treaty of Cambray, concluded August 5, 1529, which embraced "the forbidding to print or sell any Lutheran books," Bishop Tunstall at Antwerp bought up all of Tyndale's New Testaments and burned them. This mildest of British bishops would rather burn the books of Lutheran heresies than the bodies of Lutheran heretics.

In 1529 or 1530 twenty-two works of Luther were forbidden, also works by Melanchthon, Bugenhagen, Brenz, Rhegius, Agricola, and Carlstadt, all "books of the Lutheran sect." "By the procurement and sedition of Martin Luther and other heretics were slain an infinite number of Christian people" in some parts of Germany. To prevent like misfortunes in England, Henry forbade all teaching "intolerable to the clean ears of any good Christian man."

More writes: "Although these books cannot either be there printed without great cost, nor here sold without great adventure and peril, yet with money sent hence, they cease not to print them there and send them hither by the whole sacks full at once, and in some places, looking for no lucre, cast them abroad at night, so great a pestilent pleasure have some devilish people caught with the labor, travail, cost, charge, peril, harm, and hurt of themselves to seek the destruction of others." He wished the Catholics were half so zealous "as those that are fallen into false heresies and have forsaken the faith," who seem to "have a hot fire of hell in their hearts that can never suffer them to rest or cease, but forces them night and day to labor and work

busily to subvert and destroy the Catholic Christian faith by every means they can devise."

Henry said it was More who "by subtle, sinister slights unnaturally procured and provoked him" to write against Luther. On December 6, 1529, he told Eustace Chapuys, Kaiser Karl's brilliant Swiss ambassador, "so far Luther had told nothing but the truth: and had he limited himself to inveighing against the vices, abuses, and errors of the clergy, instead of attacking the Sacraments of the Church. every one would have gone with him; he would himself have written in his favor and taken pen in hand in his defense." He pointedly praised Luther, though mixing heresy in his books, which was no good reason for rejecting the many truths he had brought to light. That comes pretty near to an apology from the proud English king to the humble Saxon monk.

Tyndale's translation of the five books of Moses was "Emprented at Malborow in the lande of Hesse by me Hans Luft the yere of our Lorde M.CCCCC.XXX. the XVII dayes of Januarij." Westcott says: "The spirit and even the style of Luther is distinctly visible." Some called Tyndale "nothing more than an English echo of the great German heresiarch." "Those best acquainted with the theology of the English Reformation will be the first to admit that we shall look in vain in Cranmer, Latimer, or Ridley for any such clearness of apprehension and precision as here displayed by Tyndale."

His Jonah and 1 John came out in 1531, also George Joye's The Prophet Isaye, and the next year

Two leaves of Genesis. One copy was sent "to Henry VIII and another to Anne Boleyn, and with a letter to N to deliver them and get license to go through all the Bible." Later came Jeremye, David's Psalter, Daniel the Prophete, gathered out of P. Melancton, in 1545.

Bishop Stokesley of London said it was "abusing the pepole to give them liberty to read the Scriptures," and the great and good Thomas More called it "a design to depreciate the authority of an ordained priesthood and of an organized Church." Quite true, the Bible and the papal church do not get on very well together. Writing against Alesius to King James V of Scotland, Cochlagus, the notorious Romish theologian, says: "The New Testament translated into the language of the people is in truth the food of death, the fuel of sin, the veil of malice, the pretext of false liberty, the protection of disobedience, the corruption of discipline, the depravity of morals, the end of concord, the death of honesty, the well-spring of vices, the disease of virtues, the instigation of rebellion, the milk of pride, the nourishment of contempt, the death of peace, the destruction of charity, the enemy of unity, the murder of truth." In 1529 Latimer at Cambridge, in his two famous Sermons on the Card, urged the universal reading of the Bible, and Prior Buckenham promptly replied in a sermon on Christmas Dice - "Where Scripture saith, 'No man that layeth his hand to the plough and looketh back is meet for the kingdom of God,' will not the ploughman, when he readeth these words be apt forthwith to cease from his plough, and then, where will be

the sowing and harvest? Likewise, also, whereas the baker readeth, 'A little leaven leaveneth the whole lump,' will he not forthwith be too sparing in the use of leaven, to the great injury of our health? And so, also, when the simple man reads the words, 'If thine eye offend thee, pluck it out and cast it from thee,' incontinently he will pluck out his eyes, and so the whole realm will be full of blind men, to the great decay of the nation and the manifest loss of the king's grace. And thus, by reading of the Holy Scriptures, will the whole kingdom be in confusion." Truly, such arguments are manswerable!

On May 24, 1530, Archbishop Warham, Tunstall, Gardiner, More, "with the king's highness being present," drew up a bill to be published by the preachers. It stated that in spite of the wide-spread feeling it was not the king's duty to have the Bible in English spread among the people. The king, "by the advice and deliberation of his council and the agreement of great learned men, thinketh in his conscience that the divulging of this Scripture at this tyme in Englishe tonge, to be committed to the people . . . shulde rather be to their further confusion and destruction then the edification of their soules."

Even in this assembly there were "three or four that would have had the Scriptures to go forth in English," as Latimer (?) most boldly writes the king: "The which thing also your grace hath promised by your last proclamation; the which promise I pray God that your gracious Highness may shortly perform, even to-day before to-morrow. Nor let the



Archbishop Warham.

wickedness of these worldly men detain you from your godly purpose and promise."

Standish, a favorite preacher of the king, denounced even the Greek Testament of Erasmus, and so did Bishop Lee. But the leaven was working. When the bishops burned the New Testament in Paul's Churchyard in May, 1531, King Henry asked for a new translation.

Stephen Vaughan was attacked by More for heresy in 1529; next year he was in Germany to borrow money from the Fuggers for Henry and "bore too much affection for Tyndale" to suit the king, to whom he wrote boldly in defense of the Lutherans. It was likely he that sent the opinions of the universities to Barnes, who in 1528 had fled to Wittenberg, to gain Luther for Henry's divorce, Luther at last, on September 3, pronounced against the divorce. The next day Barnes took the message and went by way of Magdeburg and Luebeck to London, where he arrived in December.

On reading Luther's unfavorable judgment, Henry dismissed the innocent Barnes "with much ill will." In addition, the "gentle" Thomas More would fling him into prison, but had to content himself with penning a fierce attack on him. It seems during this time Barnes lived at the Steelyard, on the Thames, near London Bridge, the privileged house of the prosperous German Hanse merchants.

In the same September William Paget, who had been "an earnest Protestant" at Cambridge and read and spread Lutheran books, was with Philip of Hessen at Rothenburg, pressing him to urge Luther to consent to the divorce. Philip pressed Luther to please the king for political reasons, but Luther replied his answer had already been sent to England.



Sir Thomas More.

On November 14 Vaughan sent for presentation to Henry Sentences collected from the Doctors which the Papists to-day very impudently condemn. By Anto. Anglum — Robert Barnes, who had at

Wittenberg published this defense of Lutheran teaching, for which Bugenhagen had written a foreword, and which work he later translated from Latin into German. A copy of each is in the Union Seminary Library in New York City.

The Praier and Complayate of the Plowman of February, 1531, has the bishops and priests denounce the Lutherans as "they that trouble all the world with their new learning."

More heavily fined Tyndale's brother John and one Patmore for spreading the New Testament. On December 4 Richard Bayfield was burned at Smithfield for importing the New Testament, five of Luther's works, five of Melanchthon's, four of Brenz's, three of Bugenhagen's, and others. "Saint" Bilney was arrested in 1529; three times he refused to recant, the fourth time he fell. For two years he was most miserable, and then "he would go up to Jerusalem". like Christ to His death. He preached in the fields, he gave away a New Testament. "Burn him to-day and try him to-morrow," said the saintly More — Jedwood justice. Burned he was in 1531 on the authority of Bishop Nix of Norwich, for which, however, he was "towered" by Henry.

John Byddell printed Luther's Liberty of a Christian Man, translated by John Tewkesbury, who was examined by Cuthbert Tunstall and Sir Thomas More in April, 1529, and burned on December 20, 1531—"the stinking martyr" the saintly More calls him.

Bishop Gilbert Burnet, in his *History*, points out the fact that until the year 1531 "there was no dispute about the presence of Christ in the Sacra-

ment; for the writings of Zwingli came later into England; and hitherto they had only seen Luther's works, and those written by his followers."

On February 24 Henry wrote Bishop Tunstall: "Considering what the Church of Rome is, it is no schism to separate from her and adhere to the Word of God. To follow the Pope is to forsake Christ. It is to be trusted the papacy will shortly vanish away." The day after Barnes had delivered Luther's unfavorable message, Henry sent Paget to get the Lutherans to write in favor of the divorce. He arrived on August 12 and told Luther Karl's pun on Buckingham, "It is a pity so noble a buck should be slain by such a hound" — Henry VIII. Of course, even the future Lord Secretary of State of England did not win Luther.

The Exposition of the Sermon on the Mount came out in 1532. George Joy says in reality "Luther made it, Tyndale only but translating and powdering it here and there with his own fantasies." Westcott says: "The coincidences between Tyndale's Exposition of the Sermon on the Mount and that of Luther, though fewer, are even more worthy of note" than usual. This scholarly bishop also speaks of the "profound influence which Luther exerted upon Tyndale's writings generally. The extent to which Tyndale silently incorporated free or even verbal translations of passages from Luther's works in his own has escaped the notice of his editors. . . . There is indeed a ring which might have led any one familiar with Luther's style to suspect their real source."

"One of the greatest prodigies of wit and learning that England ever before his time had produced" was Thomas More, according to Anthony Wood, and Bishop Tunstall licensed his "Demosthenes" to read. Luther's books and reply to them. He attacked "the pestilent sect of Luther and Tyndale" for the rest of his life in about one thousand folio pages, and yet he wrote in 1532: "We have had, some years of late, plenteous of evil books. For they have grown up so fast and sprung up so thick, full of pestilent errors and pernicious heresies, that they have infected and killed, I fear me, more simple souls than the famine of the dear years destroyed bodies."

The saintly More racked James Bainham, a lawyer. Enfeebled by suffering, he recanted before the merciless eyes of Bishop Stokesley. His conscience troubling him, he went to the Christian Brothers and asked forgiveness. He arose in church with the fatal English Testament in his hand and "declared openly, before all the people, with weeping tears, that he had denied God," praying them all to forgive him, and to beware of his weakness; "for if I should not return to the truth, this Word of God would damn me, body and soul, at the Day of Judgment." Then he prayed "everybody rather to die than to do as he did, for he would not feel such a hell again as he did feel for all the world's good."

He was taken to Bishop Stokesley's coal cellar at Fulham, put into irons and the stocks, and left there for many days in the cold March weather to think it over. This failing to work a change, he was dragged to More's house at Chelsea, where for two nights he was chained to a post and whipped.

Then he was returned to Fulham for another week of torture, then to the Tower for another two weeks' torture, again without shaking his faith. He was burned at Smithfield on the last day of April, 1532.

On June 16, 1533, Luther presided at a disputation on theses hurriedly prepared by Melanchthon when John Bugenhagen, Caspar Cruciger, and John Aepinus were made Doctors of Theology. The Englishman, Barnes, and the Scotchman, Canon Alexander Alane, or Alesius, took part in the disputation, and Barnes had brought money from the treasurer of Hamburg to pay the expenses of the D. D. of their Aepinus.

D. Antonius Anglus, Theologiae Doctor Oxoniensis, registered at the University of Wittenberg on June 20. Who's he? Robert Barnes, as Melanchthon wrote on the margin. The Englishman also wrote his name in the autograph album of Peter Beskendorf, Luther's barber and friend.

On July 28 Henry sent Stephen Vaughan to make an alliance with Saxony, Hessen, and the rest of the Bund against the Kaiser, and Christopher Mont, Mount, or Mundt, LL. D., of Cologne, was to line up the Bavarian dukes, who were Catholics, yet afraid of the growing power of the house of Hapsburg.

John Frith helped Tyndale get out the New Testament in English; was imprisoned; went to Marburg in Hessen; met Patrick Hamilton, the first Scotch Lutheran martyr; translated his *Places*; returned to England and was imprisoned again. Tyndale wrote him Dr. Barnes in England, like his master, Luther, would be hot against him if he de-

nied the Real Presence in the Lord's Supper. He was burned at Smithfield on July 4, 1533.

That did not scare Coverdale in 1534 from getting out his first work, Ye Olde God and the New, a translation of Vom allen und neuen Gott by Hartmann Dulechin, professor of law at Wittenberg, and also Paraphrases upon the Psalmes, translated from Professor Campensis of Louvain.

A work of Luther came out under the title An exposicion upon the songe of the blessed virgine Mary, called Magnificat. Translated out of latine into Englysh by Jhon Hollybush — Miles Coverdale.

Writing against the good Catholic Christopher Saint-Germain, a great lawyer, More in 1533 said the English grudge against Rome "is grown as great as it is only since Tyndale's books and Frith's and Friar Barnes' began to be spread abroad," that it originated undoubtedly from the spread of Lutheran views and teachings. In his three short years the gentle More burned more Protestants than Cardinal Wolsey in all his long years. He wrote Erasmus his epitaph purposely stated he had been hard on herctics. For once an epitaph does not lie. "Cromwell rules everything," wrote Chapuvs to Karl in 1533. In that year Henry at last took the bit between the teeth and in virtue of his own power as head of the Church divorced his queen Katherine. Wolsev. twice near-Pope, wrote the Pope, "the approved excellent virtuous qualities of the said gentlewoman [Anne Boleyn], the purity of her life, her constant virginity, her maidenly and womanly pudicity, her soberness, chasteness, meekness, humility, wisdom, descent right noble and high through regal blood.



Katherine of Aragon.

education in all good and laudable qualities and manners, apparent aptness to procreation of children, with her other infinite good qualities, more to be regarded and esteemed than the only progeny,"



Cardinal Wolsey.

explained the king's desire to be quickly divorced, a desire which Wolsey regarded as honest and necessary. Wolsey knew as much as anybody else, and Wolsey wasn't a bigger liar than anybody else.

Henry took the reins from the hands of Cardinal Wolsey, who founded Cardinal College, now Christ Church, at Oxford for the express purpose of opposing Lutheranism, and among his last words were for the king "to depress this sect of Lutherans."

The two editions of Tyndale's New Testament -Cologne and Worms - sold well, and so the thrifty Hollanders would make a little money and reprinted the Testament four times, George Jove editing the fourth piracy - "Here endeth the new Testament diligently ouersene and corrected and prynted now agayn at Antwerpe by me wydowe of Christoffel of Endhoue. In the yere of oure Lorde. M.CCCCC. and xxxiiij. in August." Now Tyndale got out his second and revised edition - "Tyndale's noblest monument." Cardinal Gasquet says: "Luther's direct influence may be detected on almost every page." McComb says: "Some of the happiest renderings in our English New Testament we owe indirectly to the German Reformer." Another: "Happily our own excellent translation of the Bible still retains striking evidence of the influence of Luther's admirable version, and perhaps it is not too much to say that the most copious and energetic languages are greatly indebted to Luther for their terseness and expression."

Getting into prison for his "help to the setting forth of the New Testament in English," Richard Hermann appealed to Queen Anne Boleyn, who asked Cromwell to release the Antwerp merchant. Tyndale gratefully struck off for her private use a copy of his Testament on vellum, beautifully illuminated. Her name, in faded red letters, may



Anne Boleyn.

still be made out on the gilded edges of the book in the British Museum. She got the release of Latimer from Stokesley's prison, made him her chaplain, and meekly followed the stern preacher's advice. She got the translation of the New Testament sanctioned

and read it; she gave from her privy purse to the poor in every parish in England - 14,000 pounds in the last nine months of her life; she educated many promising youths for the Church; she and her maids made shirts for the poor. On October 10, 1533, Eustace Chapuys wrote the queen and her father were more Lutheran than Luther himself. The king protected the Lutherans, and "were it not that he feared the people, would long since have professed Lutheranism himself." Early in December Henry repented of nothing more than of the book he had writen against Luther. The number of English Lutherans grew, and the French ambassador remarked to Chapuys they would not easily be rooted out, and Chapuys repeatedly wrote Karl of the rapid spread of Lutheranism, and calls Queen Anne "the cause and principal wet-nurse of heresies." Shakespeare agrees with this estimate of Anne's importance, and Thomas Grav sings of the time

When love could teach a monarch to be wise, And Gospel-light first dawned from Bullen's eyes.

At her death Anne called herself a Lutheran. Froude says: "She had been conspicuously Lutheran; her family and her party were Lutheran." Bishop Aylmer asks: "Was not Quene Anne... the chief, first, and only cause of banyshing the beast of Rome, with all his beggarly baggage? Was there ever in England a greater feate wrought by any man then this was by a woman?... Wherefore though many deserved muche praise for the helping forwarde of it: yet the croppe and roote was the

Quene, whiche God hath endewed with wisdome that she coulde, and gyven hir the minde that she would do it."

"Lutheranism spreads fast, and the king calculates that it will make the people stand by him and will gain the Germans," wrote Chapuys to Karl on June 23, 1534. In July came John Aepinus, pastor of Hamburg, on the invitation of the king, to help reform the Church. His Very fruitful and godly exposition upon the 15th Psalm was translated by "N. L." and printed by John Day. The first English catechism came out the same year. Marshall's Primer—a translation of Luther's Betbuechlein of 1520, and thus also of his Short Form of the Ten Commandments, the Creed, and the Lord's Prayer.

II. Coverdale Prints the First Complete English Bible.

Under Archbishop Cranmer, Convocation on December 19, 1534, begged the king "to decree that the Scriptures should be translated into the vulgar tongue by some honest and learned men, to be nominated by the king, and to be delivered to the people according to their learning." Cranmer apportioned the work among the bishops, and all did their stint, all but Stokesley: "I marvel what my lord of Canterbury meaneth, that thus abuseth the people, in giving them liberty to read the Scriptures, which doth nothing else but infect them with heresy. I have bestowed never an hour upon my portion, nor never will. . . . I will never be guilty of bringing the simple people into error."

Very well, Stokesley; we'll have to get along without your help. On his death-bed in September, 1539, he boasted of having killed fifty heretics.

On October 4, 1535, there came out Biblia. The Bible, that is, the Holy Scriptures of the Olde and New Testament, faithfully and truly translated out of Douche and Latyn into Englishe. (The "Douche," of course, is Luther's German Bible.)

The dedication to King Henry VIII is signed by "Myles Couerdale," who submits his "poor translacyon unto the spirite of trueth in your grace."

"The Christen Reader" is told: "To say the trueth before God, it was nether my laboure ner desyre, to have this worke put in my hande; neuertheles it greued me yt other nacyons shulde be more plenteously prouvded for with ye scripture in theyr mother tongue, then we: therefore whan I was instantly requyred, though I coulde not do so well as I woulde, I thought it yet my dewtye to do my best, and that with a good wyll. . . .

"Go to now, most dear reader, and sit thee down at the Lord's feet, and read his words, and, as Moses teacheth the Jews, take them into thine heart, and let thy talking and communication be of them, when thou sittest in thine house, or goest by the way, when thou liest down, and when thou risest up. And, above all things, fashion thy life and conversation according to the doctrine of the Holy Ghost therein, that thou mayest be partaker of the good promises of God in the Bible, and be heir of his blessings in Christ: in whom if thou put thy trust, and be an unfeigned reader or hearer of his word with thy heart, thou shalt find sweetness

therein, and spy wondrous things, to thy understanding, to the avoiding of all seditious sects, to the abhorring of thy old sinful life, and to the stablishing of thy godly conversation."

It seems that Coverdale was out of England most of the time between 1528 and 1536; that Jacob von Meteren paid him for translating at Antwerp and had it printed by Froschouer at Zurich; that James Nicolson of Southwark bought copies for sale in England. Though it did not receive the king's license, it was not suppressed.

This is the first complete English Bible in print. It is not an independent translation. Coverdale himself says of the Germans: "Whom (because of theyr synguler gyftes & speciall diligence in the Bible) I have ben the more glad to follwe for the most parte." And so it is fitting that Ward's \$150,000 picture, "Luther Finding the Bible," should be presented to the British and Foreign Bible Society, where it properly holds the place of honor; for, as Professor Pattison says, Coverdale "was especially indebted to Luther's Bible. . . . The influence of Luther is very apparent."

This is the famous "treacle" Bible, having "treacle" for "balm" in Gilead, Jer. 8, 22. Much fun has been poked at it for this reason; but the matter is not funny at all, for "treacle" used to mean a remedy against poison. For this rare book a collector not long ago paid \$3,700. A reprint is in the Chicago Public Library.

Cromwell ordered every church to have by August 1, 1537, "a book of the whole Bible, both in Latin, and also in English . . . for every man that will, to look and read therein; and discourage no man from reading any part of the Bible, either in Latin or English, but rather comfort, exhort, and admonish each man to read it as the very Word of God, and the spiritual food of every man's soul." He complained that the gospels had been "obscured by the malice of the priests." and expressed his burning desire to see the doctrine of Christ restored "to its primitive candor and sincerity."

On March 11, 1535, Dr. Barnes, "the king's chaplain and professor of theology," was again in Wittenberg, "treating only of the second marriage of the king," and trying very hard to get Melanchthon to go to England. Of course, he did not win the Lutherans to approve of the divorce, but on his request Melanchthon, on the 12th, wrote Henry a letter, urging "a simple and sure form of doctrine," and impressing on the king not to kill any one for his conscience or opinion.

On June 4 Bishop Edward Fox of Hereford wrote Cromwell that George Joy was lodging with him at Calais.

On the return of Barnes he was again returned to Wittenberg in great haste to keep Melanchthon from going to France, the credence being dated July 8. In August Melanchthon, by Alesius, sent Henry the second edition of the Loci, an explanation of Paul's Letter to the Romans, and for this dedication he had to defend himself next year. On the 30th Pope Paul III thundered forth his curse of excommunication against Henry, who now surely needed the help of the German Lutherans more than ever.

On September 14 Barnes was present at the doctor promotion of Jerome Weller and Nicholas Medler and partook of the "splendid banquet"



Pope Paul III.

cooked by Kate Luther in honor of her house-friend Weller, for which Jonas had to get all kinds of fowl from Jenn, and for which Luther begged the 1561 Elector to send venison from the electoral residence at Lochau. The guests filled seven or eight tables.

On the 18th Barnes found the Elector at Jena starting to visit King Ferdinand and received permission to confer with the Wittenbergers and a promise to have Henry's proposals considered by the Bund of Schmalkalden, to be called in special session in December. On the same day John Frederick also wrote King Henry, urging him to keep on reforming the Church, such zeal being the best sacrifice wherewith he could serve God, the whole Church, and all posterity.

"That black Englishman," as Luther calls Barnes, was again in Wittenberg in October, and on the 6th wrote Cromwell that there is a great preparing for Master Almener, the English agent, at the Elector's own castle; that the Elector was very glad to have King Henry in the Smalcald League and straightway called a special meeting for December 6 to consider the admission of England as an ally; that "Langius shal come in al haste to feche phylype" into "franse, but I have stopyd yt, and by god's grace (yf he and I do lyve) I shal bryng hym with me" into England; "I must have money plenty to pay for phylyps costs and all others that he shal bryng wyth hym and to by hym horse and other necessaryse for hys journey."

On Sunday, November 7, Peter Paul Vergerio, the Pope's nuncio, invited Luther and Barnes to the castle. Though the Englishman did not accept, Luther with his characteristic speeches acted as the spokesman for Barnes also, as the Reformer informed Justus Jonas.



Peter Paul Vergerio.

On the 15th Barnes left Jena for Leipzig to dispute with Cochlaeus, who had bitterly attacked King Henry for killing Bishop John Fisher and Chancellor Thomas More.

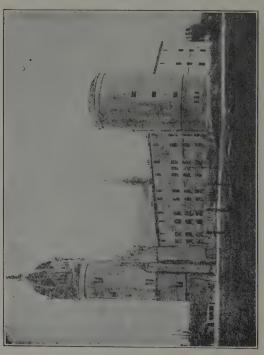
On December 9 Bishop Edward Fox of Hereford, Archdeacon Nicholas Heath, and Dr. Barnes conferred with the Elector at Weimar, went with him to Schmalkalden, and delivered the king's message to the Saxon chancellors, Brueck and Burkhart.



Justus Jonas.

Fox addressed the whole *Bund*, admonishing them to unity, warning them against the Anabaptists, discussing the papal pretensions, and insisting on unity of doctrine before entering the council at last called by the Pope to meet at Mantua on May 23, 1537.

The good Germans rejoiced over Henry's readiness to agree with them in doctrine, and on December 25 signed an agreement with the Englishmen to



admit their king as the patron and protector of the *Bund* if he would further the pure Gospel according to the *Augsburg Confession* and the *Apology* and

Castle at Wittenberg.

give 100,000 crowns to defend their faith. A little later Henry asked, if he were attacked, that the *Bund* furnish him with 500 horse or with ten ships of war at their own cost for four months, and 2,000 horse and 5,000 foot at his expense.

On the 28th Barnes wrote from Gotha a jubilant letter to Cromwell about the success of Fox, and paid him a handsome compliment. As to the divorce, he thinks Martin is more favorable than before, Jonas does not object, Philip seems to be with us. Pomeranus alone resists savagely. "Remember us with more money. . . . I have here at my charge to the kinges honore V horse."

Barnes "adopts a secular habit" — the news does not startle us a little bit, but in those days it was so important that the imperial ambassador Chapuys dispatches it to his master, Kaiser Karl V. Another proof of the man's importance — "sent like an ambassador with ten horse unto the Duke of Saxony, elector, in the matters of the Gospel," and then the learned Bishop of Winchester indulges in the silly sneer that Luther's religion permits a man to travel with ten horses!

On January 1, 1536, the embassy is at Wittenberg. "Luther lovingly embraces them and is even delighted by their courtesy," writes Melanchthon. Luther jokes about the importance attached to him by the king of England. After eleven universities have already given their decision, it seems the world will be lost "unless we poor beggars, the Wittenberg theologians, be heard."

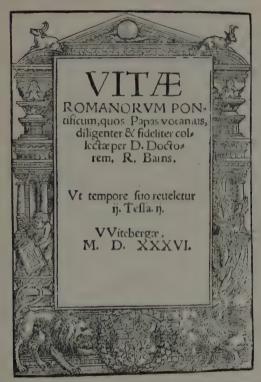
Bishop Fox brought a letter of thanks, dated October 1, from the king to his "very beloved friend"

Melanchthon for his book on Romans, than which nothing could have more pleased the king, and which everybody ought to prize highly for its merits; also three or five hundred crowns. There were also fifty gulden for Luther. The English brought a book by Dr. Richard Sampson, Henry's dean of the chapel, on the king's supremacy, and a volume of sermons to show how evangelical the king was, who also felt called on to admonish the Lutherans to remain firm against the Antichrist, to whom Henry now would grant no primacy at all, not even of human right. The visitors freely complained of the tyranny of their king and admired the freedom of the German theologians. Barnes told more good of Henry than Luther could readily believe, and admitted, "My king does not care for religion," and the others added, "our king is inconstant."

On Saturday, January 29, there was a disputation Against the Private Mass, in which Bishop Fox also took part. Luther spoke of the right manner in which princes were to get "private mass" from their chaplains, no doubt with a side glance at Barnes, who had been made Henry's chaplain.

Barnes used his stay at Wittenberg to print his Lives of the Popes, dedicated to King Henry, taking his material from Platina and other Catholic historians. Fueter says: "Protestant historiography has received its program from the hand of Luther himself. Its first work appeared under the eyes of the Reformer, at Wittenberg and with a preface by him."

In 1445 Luther wrote an Introduction to Papal Fidelity of Hadrian IV and Alexander III shown



Title-Page of Barnes's "Lives of the Popes."

to Kaiser Friedrich Barbarossa. This booklet is a literal translation of part of Barnes's Lives, the translation and notes likely by Luther himself. The Englishmen wished to take Melanchthon to England, and failing in that, thought of Prince George of Anhalt.

For three long months the doctrines were discussed on the basis of the Augsburg Confession and the Apology. Melanchthon complained to Camerarius about the quibbling of the English — "They exercise me so that I can hardly breathe. The Archdeacon, Nicholas Heath, is the only one of our guests who is distinguished by culture and learning; the rest are destitute of our philosophy and sweetness, so I avoid their society as much as I can."

Luther could not hide his surprise at his visitors' confidence in the justice of their cause in the divorce. He listened patiently to their arguments, but at last tired of their persistence and lengthened stay. While opposing the divorce of Katherine, "in other respects I will show myself not unfriendly towards them, in order that they may not think that we Germans are stone or wood." No, indeed. We are truly amazed to see how far the peace-loving Luther could go to have peace and union with England. "It is indeed true that we ought to have patience though everything in doctrine be not realized at once (as this has not occurred even among us)," he wrote on April 20 to Vice-Chancellor Burkhardt, who translated the Wittenberg Articles of 1536, as the doctrinal agreement is known.

The English left in April with a polite letter to Cromwell and a judgment against Henry's divorce. Over against the old Chancellor Brueck, Fox was quite sure King Henry would accept the Lutheran teaching in all points. Luther spoke his doubts.



Chancellor Brueck.

Luther's eyes were fitted with Roentgen rays. Gardiner opposed the conditions of the Lutherans, and the king crossed Cromwell's plans. Had Henry not played politics, all England would likely have become Lutheran at this time.

Bishop Burnet comments: "It cannot be denied that the Protestants proved their sincerity in this Miles Coverdale. [65]

matter, such as became men of conscience, who were actuated by true principles, and not by maxims of policy. For if these had governed them, they would have shown themselves more compliant with so great a prince, who was then alienated from the Pope and on ill terms with the emperor."

Richard Taverner was one of the "Lutheran" students at Wolsey's Cardinal College at Oxford who suffered persecution for his faith. He was a layman and a lawyer and good in Greek, even wont "to quote the law in Greek." Cromwell got King Henry to give him a clerkship.

In 1536 appeared The Confessyon of the Fayth of the Germaynes, exhibited to the Most Victorious Emperour Charles the V., at Augusta, the yere of our Lord, 1530. To which is added the Apologie of Melancthon, who defendeth with Reasons invincible the aforesayd Confessyon, translated by Richard Taverner, at the commandment of his Master, the ryght honourable Master Thomas Cromwell, chefe secretare to the Kynges Graces. London, Robert Redman. At the same time came out A compendious letter which John Pomerane—curate of the congregacion of Wittenberge sent to the faithfull christen congregacion in England. London, Richard Charlton. The king's own printer published Tyndale's "Luther's New Testament in English."

In the beginning of May, Queen Anne was suddenly sent to the Tower. At once Francis offered Henry a French princess, and the Kaiser, on the 15th, offered his niece, the Infanta of Portugal, with 400,000 ducats. "If you find the king disinclined to this marriage, you may propose my niece, the



Johann Bugenhagen.

Duchess Dowager of Milan, a beautiful young lady with a good dowry." But Christina of Denmark said, had she *two* heads, one should have been at Henry's service. Very good; if not true, it ought to be true.

On the 19th Henry butchered his Queen Anne, and then rode off to sup with Jane Seymour, whom

he had already fondled on his lap, and the next day made her his queen. When later he was asked "whether he would wish his wife or infant to be saved," he replied, "The child by all means, for other wives could be easily found." And when Edward VI was born, Latimer prays for grace to thank "the God of England, or rather an English God."

Barnes asked Cromwell for the mastership of Bedlam, worth but forty pounds. In June he warned Melanchthon not to come to England, in spite of the earnest and repeated invitations of Henry. On October 10 he was again in Wittenberg, taking part in a disputation On the Power of the Council, which Pope Paul III on June 4 had called to meet at Mantua the following May. Perhaps it was for the "honorable guests" that the City Council sent eight cans of Rhine wine for the banquet at the "Black Cloister," Luther's house.

"The Pilgrimage of Grace" broke out in the north, and the peasant pilgrims demanded the burning of the books of Luther, Melanchthon, and others. Henry replied to their demands expressing his astonishment "that ignorant people should go about to instruct him in matters of theology, who somewhat had been noted to be learned in what the true faith should be."

Coverdale's translation of the Bible, of course, did not please all, and hot debates were held in the Convocation begun June 9, 1536, at St. Paul's with Hugh Latimer's stinging sermon on The Unjust Steward.

Alesius, who on the fiery death of Patrick Hamilton in Scotland had fled to Wittenberg and had

brought Melanchthon's *Loci* to King Henry in August, 1535, gives a vivid account of one of the sessions.

"At the king's pleasure all the learned men, but especially the bishops, assembled, to whom this



Luther's Home at Wittenberg.

matter seemed chiefly to belong. . . . The bishops and prelates attending upon the coming of Cromwell, as he was come in, rose up and did obeisance unto him as their vicar-general, and he again saluted every one in their degree and sat down in the highest place at the table, according to his degree and

office. . . . Thereupon Cromwell opened the discussion by sketching in a short speech the king's purpose and commands. He will not, he said, 'admit any articles or doctrine not contained in the Scripture, but approved only by continuance of time and old custom, and by unwritten verities, as ye were wont to do. . . . His Majesty will give you high thanks if ye will set and conclude a godly and a perfect unity, whereunto this is the only way and mean, if ye will determine all things by the Scripture, as God commandeth you in Deuteronomy; which things His Majesty exhorted and desireth you to do.'

"The bishops rose up altogether, giving thanks unto the king's majesty . . . for his mostly godly exhortation"

Alesius, at the invitation of Cromwell, explained the meaning of the word sacrament. Stokesley, bishop of London, interrupted him, as he was looking up the fathers, and was in turn checked by Edward Fox, bishop of Hereford, who had on July 4 returned from his conference with Luther at Wittenberg. He reminded both that they were commanded by the king that these controversies should be determined by the rule and judgment of the Scriptures.

He said to Alesius: "Brother Alexander, contend not so much about the mind and sayings of the doctors and school-writers, for ye know that they in many places do differ among themselves, and that they are contrary to themselves in almost every article. And there is no hope of any concord if we must lean to their judgment in matters of contro-

versy." Then, specially addressing the bishops: "Think not that we can by any sophistical subtleties steal out of the world again the light which every one doth see. Christ hath so lightened the world at this time that the light of the Gospel hath put to flight all misty darkness, and it will shortly have the higher hand of all clouds, though we resist in vain over so much

"The lay people do now know the Holy Scripture better than many of us; and the Germans have made the text of the Bible so plain and easy, by the Hebrew and Greek tongues, that now many things may be better understood without any glosses at all than by all the commentaries of the doctors. And, moreover, they have so opened these controversies by their writings that women and children may wonder at the blindness and falsehood that have been hitherto. . . . Truth is the daughter of time, and time is the mother of truth; and whatsoever is besieged of truth cannot long continue; and upon whose side truth doth stand, that ought not to be thought transitory, or that it will ever fall."

Hard pressed in the argument, Stokesley replied to Alesius with great heat: "Ye are far deceived if ye think that there is none other word of God that which every souter and cobbler doth read in their mother tongue. And if ye think that nothing pertaineth unto the Christian faith, but that only that is written in the Bible, then err ye plainly with the Lutherans. . . .

"Now when the right noble lord Cromwell, the archbishop, with the other bishops, who did defend the pure doctrine of the Gospel, heard this, they



Bishop Stokesley of London.

smiled a little one upon another, forasmuch as they saw him flee, even in the very beginning of the disputation, unto his old rusty sophistry and unwritten verities.

"Thus through the industry of Cromwell the colloquies were brought to this end, that albeit religion could not wholly be reformed, yet at that time there was some reformation had throughout all England."

Yes, indeed, The Wittenberg Articles of 1536, called by Seckendorf a "repetition and explanation" of the Augsburg Confession, had considerable influence on the Book of Articles of Faith and Ceremonies presented by Bishop Fox to Convocation on July 11, after his return from Luther. On July 31 Alesius brought a translation to Germany—"a most confused composition," commented Melanchthon. It also had an influence on The Institution of a Christian Man of 1537, and on the Forty-two Articles of Edward VI, and on the Thirty-nine Articles of Queen Elizabeth, and on the Articles of the Methodists. It had even been proposed in Parliament to adopt the Augsburg Confession.

Stephen Gardiner and his Catholic party did all they could to poison King Henry's mind against the Bible. It was said that all the heresies which were then in Germany, and from thence came over to England, sprang from the free use of the Scriptures, and that he could no more govern his subjects if he gave way to that. When the bishops had to admit there were no heresies in Coverdale's Bible, the king cried out, "Then in God's name let it go abroad among our people!" So the two new editions of 1537 were "set forth with the kynges moost gracious lisense."

"John Rogers, brought up in the Universitie of Cambridge, where hee profitably trauelled in good learning, at the length was chosen and called — 1534 - by the Merchants Adventurers, to be their Chaplaine at Antwerpe in Brabant, whome he serued to their good contentation many yeares. It chaunced him there to fal in company with that worthy seruant and Martyr of God, William Tindall, and with Miles Couerdale (which both for the hatred they bare to papish superstition and idolatry, and loue to true religion, had forsaken their native country)." He became an ardent Lutheran, married two years later, went to Wittenberg, learned German, became pastor in the neighborhood, and prepared the whole Bible with notes for the press. It came out in 1537 under the name of Thomas Matthew, likely because Rogers had no great longing to be burned, as Tyndale had been on October 6, 1536. It is made up of Tyndale's translation from Genesis to 2 Chronicles, and his revised New Testament of 1535, with the remainder of the Old Testament including Jonah, and the Apocrypha from Coverdale. It was dedicated to King Henry, and Cromwell "obtained of His Grace, that the same shall be allowed by his authority to be bought and read within his realm." And Cranmer writes Cromwell: "You have showed me more pleasure herein than if you had given me a thousand pound." Again, two weeks later: "For the which act not only the king's majesty, but also you shall have a perpetual laud and memory of all them that be now, or hereafter shall be, God's faithful people and the favorers of His Word." Grafton, the printer, presented six copies to Cromwell for his "most godly pains." The work was eagerly welcomed and repeatedly reprinted. Mombert says Rogers "often



Tyndale Burned, October 6, 1536.

used Luther's notes." Hoare says: "It is chiefly remarkable for the excessive Lutheranism of its annotations, in which it out-Tyndales Tyndale himself," and it has "the character of a Lutheran manifesto." These notes make Rogers's Bible the first English Lutheran commentary on the Scripture.

Humphrey Monmouth, a London merchant, had become "a Scripture man" through reading Luther's books and had given a home and help to Tyndale. In 1528 "Stokesley, then Bishop of London, ministred Articles unto him, to the number of xxiiij, as for adhering to Luther and his opinions: for hauing and reading heretical bookes and treatises, for geuing exhibition to William Tindall, Roy, and such other, for helping them ouer the sea to Luther, for ministring privile helpe to translate, as well the Testament, as other bookes into English," etc. His will called for thirty sermons at thirteen shillings and fourpence in place of thirty masses. In 1537 Barnes became his executor and preached some of these sermons "to the glory of Christ and the testification of Monmouth's faith." Bishop Latimer hears that Barnes preached a very good sermon in London with great moderation and temperance on July 15. "I pray God, continue with him; for then I know no one man shall do more good." He had Barnes preach at Harteburg, Worcester, and Evesham, and on December 25 wrote Cromwell: "Surely he is alone in handling of a piece of Scripture, and in setting forth of Christ he hath no fellow," and wished the king might hear him.

Chapuys places Fox, Cranmer, and Cromwell "among the most perfect Lutherans in the world."

In a letter to Bullinger, Richard Hilles calls Barnes, Garret, and Jerome "preachers of the Gospel of no mean order," and to the same Bullinger John Butler praises them as "three of our best ministers."

On August 3 Melanchthon is glad Barnes is out of danger and begs Aepinus to salute Barnes from Melanchthon and command him to remember his old friends. Strype surmises Barnes fled to Ireland.

A very excellent and swete exposition upon the two and twentye Psalme of David. . . . Translated out of hye Almayne in to Englyshe by Myles Coverdale — Luther's Twenty-third Psalm — appeared in 1537; also Andrew Osiander's How and whither a Christen man ought to flye the horrible plage of the pestilence, translated by Coverdale.

Henry sent over William Paget and Christopher Mont to keep the Lutherans from attending the Council at Mantua. Luther and Melanchthon favored sending delegates, but the policy of the English king was followed, and the Smalcald Bund appointed Melanchthon to write Henry The causes why the Germanes will not go nor consente onto the council which Paul the 3rd, now. Bp. of Rome, hath called to be kept at Mantua in Italy, and to begynne the 23 daye of Maye. Some time later appeared The Apology of the Germans against the Council of Mantua. Translated by Miles Coverdale. About July, King Henry published a pamphlet opposing the Pope's purpose of calling a council, which was at once reprinted at Wittenberg, and at least three

German translations were published in 1537 and 1538, one of them in two editions issued severally at Augsburg and at Strassburg. The Elector John Frederick of Saxony and Landgrave Philip both wrote to tell their pleasure that it agreed so well with the answer they themselves had given at Schmalkalden to the Pope's nuncio and the Kaiser's ambassador. Also, they were fully alive to his efforts to restore the true worship of God and get rid of the impiety and tyranny of the Bishop of Rome.

On September 5, 1538, Cromwell issued injunctions, in which we read: "Item, that you shall provide . . . one book of the Bible of the largest volume. in English, and the same set up in some convenient place within the said church that you have cure of. . . . Item, that you shall discourage no man, privily or apertly, from the reading or hearing of said Bible, but shall expressly provoke, stir, and exhort every person to read the same as that which is the very lively Word of God that every Christian man is bound to embrace, believe, and follow if he look to be saved," etc. The clergy were to teach the people "till they have learned the whole Paternoster and Creed in English by rote," and all parents and householders were to teach them to their children and servants; also the Ten Commandments.

Then there was an order for sermons to be made every quarter of a year to declare "purely and sincerely the very Gospel of Christ," and not to trust in "men's fantasies besides Scriptures. Wandering to pilgrimages, offering of money, candles, or tapers to feigned relics or images, or kissing or licking the same, saying over a number of beads not understood or minded on, or such like superstition," was denounced as tending to idolatry; for the first time the keeping of parish registers was ordered.

The Pope appointed a committee to lay bare to him "those most grave abuses, that is, diseases, by which the Church of God, and this Roman curia especially, is afflicted." The report, drafted by Cardinal Caraffa, later Pope Paul IV, thanks God, who has inspired the Pope "to put forth his hand to support the ruins of the tottering and almost fallen Church of Christ," and then proposes reforms. Johann Sturmius, rector of the Strassburg Lutheran College, sent this papal committee a letter, and in 1538 appeared Epistle sent to the cardinals and prelates that were appointed by the Bishop of Rome to search out the abuses of the Church. Translated by Richard Morvsine. "Guilielmus Cecilius, 1540" is on the title-page of a copy, and the text has words underlined and notes on the margin. What struck the young man were just the points which could be turned against the temporal power of the Pope by the future great statesman of Queen Elizabeth, Lord Burghley, or Burleigh.

The good Catholic Cuthbert Tunstall, on Palm Sunday, 1539, preached before the king and court: "The Popes exalt their seat above the stars of God, and ascend above the clouds, and will be like to God Almighty. . . . The Bishop of Rome offers his feet to be kissed, shod with his shoes on. This I saw myself, being present thirty-four years ago, when Julius, Bishop of Rome, stood on his feet and one of his chamberlains held up his skirt because it stood

not, as he thought, with his dignity that he should do it himself, that his shoes might appear, whilst a nobleman of great age prostrated himself upon the ground and kissed his shoes."



Pope Julius II.

On January 2, 1538, Henry wrote the German Lutherans, heartily hoping for an agreement in doctrine, and in February sent Christopher Mont, an "advanced Lutheran," to their meeting at Brunswick, asking for an embassy to take joint measures

against the proposed Council, and for the establishment of sound religion.

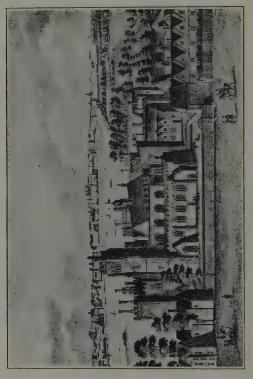
Vice-Chancellor Francis Burkhardt of Saxony, George von Boyneburg, LL. D., of Hessen, and Frederick Myconius, Superintendent of Gotha, were sent; in vain did Mundt, Mont, or Mount plead that Melanchthon be sent with them. On May 12 Luther wrote a beautiful letter to Bishop Edward Fox of Hereford, who had been in Wittenberg two years before, bespeaking a kind reception for the embassy. Alas! this brilliant English Lutheran had died four days before.

On the same May 12 a retainer of John Thixtoll, Renige, had arrived at Wittenberg and reported on the state of things in England. He said the German reformers were so esteemed in England that high honor was shown those who had visited them.

When the embassy arrived in London on the last of May, the king embraced them, and regretted the absence of Melanchthon, and assigned Barnes to the German party, "and for the King's Grace's party the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of Chichester (Sampson), Dr. Wilson, and three other doctors, which sat every week two or three times concerning the said causes of long continuance"—till October! Cranmer presided at Lambeth, and "the learnedest prince in Europe" often joined in the discussions.

Innes writes: "The advanced bishops were distinctly inclined to admit the Lutheran views. . . . Cromwell desired the domination in England of the Lutheranizing section of churchmen, and the central

Miles Coverdale.



Cranmer's Lambeth, Where the Conference was Held.

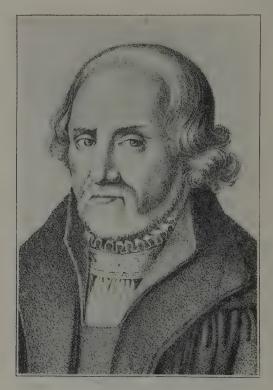
idea of his foreign policy was the construction of a Protestant League."

On the doctrinal articles of the Augsburg Confession good progress was made. On August 5 the Germans wrote the king they felt it necessary to return home. Three abuses were still to be rooted out—the prohibition of Communion in both kinds, the use of private masses, and the enforced celibacy of the clergy.

Henry answered the Germans, defending these three abuses, but promising to take further counsel and hoping to see them again before they left.

On October 1 the king gave them a letter for the Elector, full of compliments for his "most blameless friends, who have presented arguments so eminent in sound learning, wisdom, uncommon candor, and supreme devotion to Christian godliness that their intercourse has been in the highest degree charming and agreeable to us, and we entertain the well-assured hope that, with God's assistance, fruit and success will follow the counsels that have begun." He still hoped Melanchthon and other learned men would be sent to conclude the matter. He presented three horses and a carriage to Burkhardt, the Saxon vice-chancellor, who was simply delighted with the graciousness of the king and sang his praises in Germany.

Henry had again been swayed by politics, Cranmer wrote Cromwell, "I perceive that the bishops, Gardiner, Stokesley, and others, seek only an occasion to break the concord." The Lutherans also saw through the game; Myconius wrote: "He wants nothing else than to sit as antichrist in the temple



Friedrich Myconius.

of God, and that King Harry be Pope. The precious treasures, the rich income of the Church — these are Harry's Gospel." Had it not been for the king's politics, England would again have adopted the

Augsburg Confession. Froude holds the English authorities "preferred the incongruities of Anglicanism to a complete reformation; and a 'midgemadge' (as Lord Burleigh calls it) of contradictory formularies to the simplicity of the Protestant faith"—the Lutheran faith. "Though they failed in their immediate object, yet to their visit may be traced the Lutheran, the Augustan, complexion of a considerable part of the present Articles of the Church of England," says Dixon in his History.

When the English were at Wittenberg in 1536, the Elector, at heavy expense, entertained them as befitted their rank. When the Germans were in England, they paid the expenses of their sumptuous table, and Cranmer writes: "As concernying the Oratours of Germanye, I am advertised, that thei are very evill lodged where thei be: For besides the Multitude of Ratts, daily and nythly runnying in their chambers, which is no small disquietness; the Ketchyn standeth directly against their Parlor, where thei dayly Dine and Supp; and by reason thereof, the House savoreth so yll, that it offendeth all Men that come into it." Did this make Myconius sick in September?

In March and April following Melanchthon wrote the king, commending his zeal for the Christian religion, and trusting earnestly that, as he had already begun to put down some superstitions, he would be led to correct such abuses as still remained, that there might be a general consent in doctrine among those churches which disowned the tyranny of Rome. At the same time and in the same strain, but more strongly, he expressed himself in a private letter to Cranmer.

John Lambert denied transubstantiation to Dr. John Taylor, who referred him to Dr. Robert Barnes, who persuaded Taylor to put the matter before Cranmer, who disputed with Lambert, who, on Barnes's advice, appealed to the king. On November 16 the king with ten bishops labored with Lambert till late at night; in vain; on the 22d the heretic was burned. The sight of the king personally laboring for hours to convert a humble heretic so impressed Sir Thomas Elvot that he wrote in the dedication of his Dictionary to Henry VIII of "a divine influence or spark of divinity which late appeared to all them that beheld Your Grace sitting in the throne of your royal estate as Supreeme Head of the Church of England next to Christ, about the decision and condemnation of the pernicious errors of the most detestable heretic," etc.

Castillon, the French ambassador, wrote Henry was the most dangerous and cruel man in the world and seemed to be in such a fury that he had neither reason nor understanding left. Any wonder? The Pope was urging Kaiser Karl and King Francis to unite to drive Henry out of England.

In January, 1539, the desperate Henry sent Mont to the German Lutherans for another embassy, and on March 5 Barnes was dispatched with a very special message to King Christian III of Denmark and others. Sir Edward Carne and Dr. Nicholas Wotton were sent to the young Duke of Cleves to offer an alliance against the threatening Kaiser and to suggest a lady in marriage, and even that the

king might consider an overture with a portrait of the lady. Once more Henry used Cromwell's pen to write Mont to stir the Elector and the Landgrave to action. "The King's Highness, being a prince that favoreth the preferment of the Word of God above all other things in the world, perceiving sundry practises to be devised and prepensed against all princes that favored the Gospel, thinking indeed that like as they have been the first that have in those parts earnestly sticked unto it, and whom first of all the cruelty of the enemies of the same would invade and assay, before any other, to oppress, sent you thither to know their minds and intentions whether they will stick to the same, as His Majesty doubteth not they will do indeed."

Melanchthon wrote two letters to Henry, one to Heath and another to Cranmer.

Vice-Chancellor Francis Burkhardt and Ludwig you Baumbach were sent, arriving on April 23, and on the 29th were graciously received by the king, who, however, was slow in coming to business. On May 16 and 18 there were fruitless interviews with Cromwell and others. Parliament was about to adopt the violently anti-Lutheran Six Articles, and on the 26th the Lutherans begged Henry to be guided only by the truth of the Scripture in such important matters. This at once involved them in a warm debate with the king on clerical celibacy, and Henry made no attempt to conceal his royal anger. The envoys asked for a good sum of money to fight papal practises and tyranny, but Henry pointed out there seemed to be no reciprocity. At the Reichstag at Frankfurt in February the Protestants had come to an agreement with the Kaiser, and the *Bund* was to take in no new members, which shut out England, of course. On the 31st the Lutherans went home.

King Henry gave Barnes, "familiaris noster, our household servant," a credence, and he, on May 12, told King Christian III of Denmark that Henry was "willing to join with Christians against the papists for the preservation of the Christian religion" and persuaded him and the Elector of Saxony to arrange for a joint embassy to England to treat of a political league to follow a theological agreement. But the discouraging report of Burkhardt and Baumbach dampened the enthusiasm, and so Henry was told he was the one to send an ambassador if a league was to be discussed at all; they could not risk to visit England because of the enmity to the Gospel in that country.

On June 15 Melanchthon writes Michael Delius: "Reverently salute Barnes in the names of Luther, Jonas, and myself, and say that we long for his letters and wonder at the silence of the eloquent man."

In the summer complaint was made of Adam Damplip, who denied transubstantiation though teaching the Real Presence—"and therein I think he taught but the truth," wrote Cranmer to Cromwell.

The Six Articles teach 1. transubstantiation; 2. Communion in one kind; 3. clerical celibacy; 4. cloister vows; 5. private masses; 6. auricular confession.

Six Protestant bishops "defended the contrary a long time, yet finally His Highness confounded them all with God's learning, . . . and all these bishops . . . came in to us, save Salisbury [Bishop Shaxton], who yet continueth a lewd fool."

Death was the penalty after July 12. Latimer and Shaxton resigned their sees. Cranmer had to carry about his wife in a chest. He wrote a book against the Six Articles, which fell into the hands of a Catholic, and it was only by Cromwell's authority that the book was given up and Cranmer saved from death. "Your Lordship has promoted many more honest men since God promoted you than any of like authority have done before you," Latimer had written Cromwell the year before.

Barnes returned from the Continent, but was refused an audience by the king.

When the "Bloody Statute," "the whipe with sixe strings," became known in Germany, Luther wrote: "The devil is driving this king, so that he vexes and martyrs Christ.... He is still the same King Harry whom I portrayed in my first book.... He wants to kill the Pope's body, but to keep his soul, i. e., his false doctrines." Myconius wrote: "Herod against Christ and Nero against the apostles have not been so tyrannical. This kingdom has been well dyed and fertilized with the blood of Christians." Even the Catholic historian Lingard calls it "this severe and barbarous statute."

A Lutheran dogmatics in English before there was one in German! "By the impulsion and commandment" of Cromwell, in 1538, Taverner Englished *The Common Places* of Sarcerius and dedi-

cated the work to King Henry, who was so pleased that he used it as a prayer-book, and his ambassadors at Frankfurt induced the author to write a letter to Henry.

Lauterbach writes in his *Diary* under November 4: "A certain Englishman, a learned man, sat at table, who did not understand German. Said Luther: 'I propose to you as teacher of German my wife, who is very eloquent. She can do it so well that therein she far surpasses me." Likely the man with whom Luther joked was D. Edwardus Morus Anglus, warden of Winchester College, who registered at the university in April, 1539.

Thomas Minturn, an Englishman, repeatedly tried to meet Luther in his garden, but refused to appear at his table. He was suspected of designs on Luther's life and arrested on July 22. All they found was that he had written down some sayings of Luther, Melanchthon, and Myconius. He said twenty-four people had lost their lives at Paris for eating meat on a fast-day, and he had saved his by flight. On Luther's request he was freed on August 31.

Although "the Lord Crumwel did his endeavour to protect the gospellers from burning," as Strype says, yet Lord Herbert writes: "Now a cruell time did passe in England. . . . Neverthelesse, their Punishments did but advance their Religion. . . . It was thought they had some assistance from above, it being impossible otherwise that they should so rejoyce in the midst of their torments, and triumph over the most cruell death."



Philip Melanchthon.

On November 1 Melanchthon wrote Henry a long letter boldly and eloquently denouncing the Six Articles—The Epistle of P. Melancton made unto Kynge Henry the Eighth, for the revokynge and

atolishing of the six articles set forth and enacted by the craftic meanes and procurement of certeyne of our prelates of the clergic, translated out of laten into Englishe by J. C. Weesell. Did it make any impression? No doubt it did on Grafton, who later got into trouble for printing it.

In the same year appeared Two fruitfull and comfortable sermons made by the famouse clarke doctor Martin Luther, verye mete also to be reade at the burialles.

For preaching against the Lutherans, one Dr. Watts in September was condemned to prison by Archbishop Cranmer, Dr. Barnes on the bench with him.

This is the way the people saved their Lutheran books — Edward Underhill, "the hot gospeller," speaking — "I got old Henry Daunce | John Harridaunce], the bricklayer of Whitechapel, who used to preach the Gospel in his garden every holy-day, where I have seen a thousand people, he did enclose my books in a brick wall by the chimney's side in my chamber, where they were preserved from moulding or mice until the first year of our most gracious Queen Elizabeth," etc.

III. Coverdale Gets Out Two More Editions of the Bible.

Neither Coverdale's nor Matthew's versions giving satisfaction, Cromwell sent Coverdale and Grafton, the king's printer, to Paris to get out a new Bible on a splendid scale in the press of Regnault. At the request of King Henry VIII, King Francis I

had given a license, and yet "we be daily threatened, and look ever to be spoken withal, . . . but how they will use us, as yet we know not," writes Coverdale



Francis I of France.

to Cromwell on June 23, 1538. They soon knew. Henry Garvais, the Inquisitor-General for France, forbade further work. Why? "From the translation of the sacred Scriptures, as well of the Old

Testament as New, into the mother tongue, which cometh to the hands of the simple, it is found in these last days that some have taken occasion of error in the faith." That's why.

Coverdale and Grafton fled; later they took presses, types, workmen, and printed sheets to England and "fynished in Apryll anno 1539" — The Byble in Englyshe, that is to saye, the content of all the holy scrypture bothe of ye olde and newe testament, truly translated after the veryte of the Hebrue and Greke texts by ye dylygent studye of dyverse excellent learned men expert in the forsayde tongues.

The text is that of Tyndale, revised by Coverdale. From the size it is called the "Great Bible." Strange to say, it has no dedication. Holbein's (?) titlepage shows the Savior giving the Bible to King Henry, who hands a copy to Cranmer on his right and another to Cromwell on his left; below, Cranmer and Cromwell pass it on to others; at the bottom one preaches to an applauding multitude. also shows the coat of arms of Cronwell, and "Cromwell's Bible" it is called; and well it may, for he alone bore the whole cost, 600 marks, say about \$20,000. Cromwell presented it to the king and licensed it. On August 13 he received a letter of hearty thanks from Archbishop Cranmer, "who did now rejoice that he saw this day of reformation. which he concluded was now risen in England, since the light of God's Word did shine over without any eloud."

On November 13 Cranmer got King Henry to give letters patent to Cromwell "That the king was desirous to have his subjects attain the knowledge of God's Word; which could not be effected by any means so well as by granting them the free and liberal use of the Bible in the English tongue." And now private persons could buy Bibles and keep them in their houses. The printer wished to charge 13 s 4 d, but Cromwell wanted it sold for 10 s.

In the same year Taverner got out a Bible in two editions and also two editions of the New Testament. In his manly dedication to the king, Taverner says: "This one thing I dare full well affirme that amonges all your maiesties descruinges . . . your highness neuer did thing more acceptable unto god, more profitable to ye auancement of true christianitie, more displeasant to the enemies of the same, & also to your graces enemies, then when your maiestic lycenced and wylled the moost sacred Byble conteyning the unspotted and lyuely words of God to be in the Englysh tong set forth to your hyghnes subjectes."

The next year he published the first English postil, sermons on the church-year; it was a Lutheran one, translated from Sarcerius or Corvinus. King Edward VI gave him a special license to preach, which he did "with a yelvet bonnet and damask gown, and gold chain and sword."

"Strawberry preachers" Latimer dubs the Catholic clerics, because, like strawberries, they come but once a year. Their day was beginning to end, and the day of the Protestant preachers was beginning to come.

A public document of 1539 reads: "Englishmen have now in hand in every church and place, almost every man, the Holy Bible and New Testament in their mother tongue instead of the old fabulous fantastical books of the Table Round, Launcelot du Lac, etc., and such other, whose unpure filth and vain fabulosity the light of God has abolished utterly." It did good in the case of Sir Nicholas Carew. He held the lists against all comers at the Field of the Cloth of Gold in 1520 and tourneyed at the coronation of Anne Bolevn in 1533, was master of the horse of the king and one of his merry courtiers and a Knight of the Garter. When he was brought to the scaffold on March 3, 1539, the chronicler Hall says: "He made a goodly confession, both of his folly and superstitious faith, giving God most hearty thanks that ever he came in the prison of the Tower, where he first savored the life and sweetness of God's most holy Word, meaning the Bible in English, which there he read by the mean of one Thomas Phelips, then keeper of the prison," who himself had two years before suffered imprisonment for his faith from Sir Thomas More and Bishop Stokesley of London,

In February and March, 1539, Coverdale was at Newbury in Berkshire, helping to carry out the "injunction set forth by the authority of the king against English books, sects, or sacramentaries, also with putting down the day of Thomas Becket," "England's greatest saint," greater than Christ. At the shrine of Thomas à Becket in Canterbury Cathedral the offerings in one year amounted to 964

pounds, 12 shillings, and 3 pence, at the altar of Christ in the same place and the same year the offerings amounted to — nothing!

In April, 1540, Coverdale got out the second "Great Bible," for which Archbishop Cranmer wrote a preface; hence also called "Cranmer's Bible."

The third edition was "overseen and perused at the commandment of the kinges highnes" by Tunstall and Heath. Bishop Heath is the Archdeacon Heath, who had been with Robert Barnes and Bishop Edward Fox of Hereford at Wittenberg in consultation with Luther in 1536. And Tunstall is the same that had refused Tyndale a home and had condemned and burned his Testament; now he approved what was substantially Tyndale's work.

Bishop Bonner "set up six Bibles in certain convenient places of St. Paul's Church" after the king's order in May, 1540, with a request to readers to bring with them "discretion, honest intent, charity, reverence, and quiet behavior." But the people were so eager to read and discuss God's Word that they disturbed the priests in the church, and Bishop Bonner threatened to remove the Bibles, "which I would be right loath to do, considering I have been always, and still will be by God's grace, right glad that the Scripture and Word of God should be well known and also set forth accordingly."

Old John Fox writes: "It was wonderful to see with what joy this book of God was received not only among the learneder sort and those that were noted for lovers of the reformation, but generally all England over among all the vulgar and common



Bishop Tunstall.

people; and with what greediness God's Word was read and what resort to places where the reading of it was. Everybody that could bought the book or busily read it or got others to read it to them if they could not themselves, and divers more elderly people learned to read on purpose. And even little boys flocked among the rest to hear portions of the Holy Scripture read. One William Waldon said several poor men in the town of Chelmsford in Essex, where his father lived and he was born. bought the New Testament and on Sundays sat reading it in the lower end of the Church: many would flock about them to hear their reading: and he among the rest, being then but fifteen years old, came every Sunday to hear the glad and sweet tidings of the Gospel. But his father, observing it once, angrily fetched him away and would have him say his Latin Matins with him, which grieved him much. And as he returned at other times to hear the Scripture read, his father still would fetch him away. This put him upon the thought of learning to read English that so he might read the New Testament himself; which when he had by diligence effected, he and his father's apprentice, joining their stocks together, and to conceal it, laid it under the bed-straw and read it at convenient times. One night his father being asleep, he and his mother chanced to discourse concerning the crucifix and kneeling down to it and knocking on the breast then used, and holding up the hands to it when it came by on procession. This, he told his mother, was plain idolatry. . . . His mother, enraged at him for this, said: 'Wilt thou not worship the cross which was about thee when thou wert christened and must be laid on thee when thou art dead?'

"In this heat the mother and son departed and went to their beds. The sum of this evening's con-

ference she presently repeats to her husband; which he, impatient to hear and boiling in fury against his son for denying worship to be due to the cross, arose up forthwith and goes into his son's chamber and, like a mad zealot, taking him by the hair of his head with both his hands pulled him out of the bed and whipped him unmercifully.

"And when the young man bore this beating, as he related, with a kind of joy, considering it was for Christ's sake, and shed not a tear, his father, seeing that, was more enraged and ran down and fetched an halter and put it about his neck, saying he would hang him. At length, with much entreaty of the mother and brother, he left him almost dead."

While many of the plain people were burned for reading their Bibles, "the princes bathe and almost drown their bodies in the best Rhine wine," Myconius wrote at Frankfurt in April, 1539.

As noted before, Henry now threw out a tempting bait for Anne of Cleves, who surpassed even her famous sister Sybilla, the wife of the Saxon Elector, "as the golden sun excelleth the silver moon," as Mont reported to Henry through Cromwell, and she was guaranteed to be strictly sober! The Elector John Frederick was against Henry and said his painter Cranach was too sick to paint Anne's portrait. Mont assured him "the cause of Protestantism in Europe would be greatly advanced by the influence of a Lutheran queen in England, for Henry was so uxorious, that the best way of managing him was through his wives."

[100]



Anne of Cleves.

"Master Haunce" Holbein was sent over to paint Anne's portrait, which seemed to give satisfaction, on September 1, and Dr. Barnes and Nicholas Wotton were to arrange matters and comfort the Lutherans with the assurance that Henry had halted the persecution of Protestants under the Six Articles. Butler wrote to Bullinger from London: "There is no persecution; the Word is powerfully preached by one Barnes and his fellow-ministers."

And when Gardiner publicly challenged the sending of Barnes, "defamed for heresy," as an ambassador for such a purpose, Cromwell was strong enough to dismiss the powerful Bishop of Winchester from the Privy Council.

When Barnes returned, Henry would not receive him, though Cromwell had asked it; yet Cromwell promoted him to the prebend of Lanbedye, offered by Bishop Barlow of St. David's for one of the chaplains, "Dr. Barones not the unfaithfullest." It was "the onely best," eighteen pounds the year.

Anne came to England. "His wife could speak no English—he no Dutch." She could not sing nor play an instrument. Henry found her big, fat, with a brown complexion, pitted with the smallpox. "I like her not. Is there no remedy but that I must needs put my neck in the yoke?" Cromwell had the disagreeable task of showing there was no way out. With splendid festivities Henry put his neck in the yoke on January 6, 1540.

On Thursday after the Feast of the Three Kings Baumbach was again in London, and on Friday morning all Cromwell wished to know: had he power to form a political treaty? On Saturday Mundt, or Mont, told him the king would receive him at Greenwich Sunday morning at nine. All Henry wanted to know: had he power to conclude

a political treaty? On Tuesday, January 12, Cromwell told Burkhardt and Baumbach the king wanted a political alliance first; the religious question could be settled later.

Burkhardt replied in Latin, nothing could be done till they had first agreed on the Augsburg Confession; Baumbach said the same in French.

Cromwell appreciated their Lutheran convictions, but, as the world then stood, he would side with his king though he should die for it. Again he pleaded for a political treaty before a religious agreement; again the Lutherans remained firm. He begged them to speak becomingly and not hard with the king, so as not to make him ungracious and impatient. Presently Baumbach was received by the king, who became angry at the Lutherans for their firmness for the Augsburg Confession and poured contempt on their usefulness as political allies. On the 21st Cromwell bade Baumbach farewell. Myconius calls Franz Burkhardt "the finest orator to be had in Germany at this time."

On March 7 the Saxon agents wrote to Schmalkalden that Cromwell was the real king, that he had hindered the execution of the act of the Six Articles, that he favored the Gospel, that Henry, at a personal interview, had expressed his desire for a religious and political understanding with the Bund.

On the first Sunday in Lent Gardiner preached "a very popish sermon, and much to the discontent of the people," making severe remarks on the Lutheran doctrine of justification by faith in Christ and on "devils offering heaven without works to sinners." Bartholomew Traheron writes Bullinger at

Zurich: "The bishop was ably answered by Dr. Barnes on the following Lord's day with the most gratifying and all but universal applause." The matter loomed so large that on March 7 the French ambassador, Marillae, wrote his king: "A great doctor of the law, called Barnes, principal preacher of the new doctrine, angrily threw his glove upon the people, as a defiance to the bishop, against whom he would maintain what he had said to the death."

William Jerome and Thomas Garret helped denounce the Six Articles and "the butterflies, fools, and knaves of the Parliament house." Gardiner complained to the king, who examined both parties and bade the Lutherans recant. The recanting was not satisfactory, and Henry threw the three into the Tower at the beginning of April. On the 17th Henry made Cromwell Earl of Exeter and Lord Chamberlain; the sheep-shearer was more powerful than ever.

On May 21 Barnes wrote Aepinus, the Lutheran pastor at Hamburg: "Write, I entreat you to Philip [Melanchthon] in my name, as soon as possible, that he come not hither before he receives a letter from me; for I would not have him exposed to danger by any hopes he builds upon me. For I have been deceived myself. . . .

"A fierce controversy is going on between the Bishop of London, Gardiner, and myself, respecting justification by faith and purgatory. He holds that the blood of Christ cleanseth only from past sins, previous to baptism, but that those committed since are blotted out partly by the merits of Christ and partly by our own satisfaction. He adds, too, that

voluntary works are more excellent than the works of the Ten Commandments. As to purgatory, he says, that if a woman shall have caused masses to be celebrated, and shall have bestowed alms for the soul of her husband, she may boldly demand her soul on the Day of Judgment and say that she has paid the price of his redemption. But I, on the other hand, in opposition to all these things, vindicate the efficacy of the blood of Jesus Christ, my Lord; but hitherto I stand alone in doing it. For although many persons approve my statements, yet no one stands forward except Latimer."

When the Duke of Cleves asked his English brother-in-law for help against the Kaiser, the answer of Henry was cold. But when the Cardinal of Ferrara tried to unite France and the Kaiser and the Pope against Henry, "a heretic and a Lutheryan," then Henry again sought the help of the Lutherans. But on April 14 Melanchthon wrote a letter for the Elector's use, saving: "If the king wished to enter the League for other reasons than those of religion, that this was entirely at variance with the principles of the League." A conference between the theologians is suggested at any place Henry might choose. "For we greatly desire that true and godly agreement be established between the English and German churches." With this letter went Writing of the Wittenberg Theologians Sent to King of England.

It was love's labor lost. On May 10 Cranmer tried to apologize for his king and begged the Lutherans to be patient.

Sleidan, the famous German historian, described Anne of Cleves as "a virgin of elegant form," and Hall, the English writer, speaks of "her beautie and



Johann Sleidanus.

good visage, that every creature reioysed to behold her." There was one important exception - Henry could see no beauty in her. And now his versatile conscience troubled him because she was a Lu-

theran! Wily Winchester got the Church to dissolve the marriage on the ground "that, the king having married her against his will, he had not given a pure, inward, and complete consent" and had never lived with her, though sharing her bed for six months. On July 12 Parliament accepted the decision. When the queen was told, she, of course, very properly and promptly fell into a faint; she regained her senses and sensibly consented to become the "sister" of the king and to accept an income of 3,000 pounds a year. This insured her life and a good living. She showed the world how to be happy though not married, for within a month she was "as joyous as ever," wearing new dresses every day till July 17, 1557, the luckiest of Henry's six wives. Mont was sent to the German Lutherans to make Henry's excuses for the affront put upon them by the treatment of the "great Flanders mare."

Covos, the Secretary of Karl in Spain, dryly remarked it was not without good reason the King of England claimed spiritual authority to judge of the

validity of marriage after his own will.

Sir George Throckmorton was accused by Cromwell of having denied the king's supremacy; but he was released by Henry upon the eloquent plea of Katherine Parr, niece of the nobleman's wife, and Sir George thirsted for revenge.

As a bolt out of the blue, at three o'clock in the afternoon of June 10, the powerful Earl of Exeter was flung into the Tower; now he was "Thomas Cromwell, shearman," i. e., sheep-shearer. At last Gardiner was even with him. The act of attainder



Thomas Cromwell.

declared, among other things, that, being a detestable heretic, determined to sow sedition and variance among the king's subjects, he had secretly set forth, and dispersed into all the shires, numbers of

false and erroneous books, many of which were printed beyond seas, to alienate men from "the true and sincere faith" of the Blessed Sacrament of the Altar and other Articles of Religion declared by the king by the authority of Parliament. He had also caused parts of the said books to be translated into English; and, even on the report made by the translator thereof that the matter was expressly against the Sacrament of the Altar, he had, after reading the translation, affirmed the heresy so translated to be good. He had also "obstinately holden opinion and said" that every Christian might be a minister of the Sacrament as well as a priest, and, abusing his authority, as the king's vicegerent, to reform errors and direct ecclesiastical abuses, he had, without the king's knowledge, licensed heretics to preach and teach. Nav. he had written to the sheriffs at sundry times, as if it were the king's pleasure, to set at large many false heretics, and had defended such persons and rebuked their accusers. He had defended the preaching of Barnes, then in the Tower, declaring that, even if the king turned against it, he would fight for it, and, holding up his dagger, added: "Or else this dagger thrust me to the heart: and I trust if I live one year or two, it shall not lie in the king's power to resist or let it if he would" - affirming the words with a great oath.

Instead of sending him to the block, these charges should write Cromwell's name in the hall of fame. Old John Fox writes: "This valiant soldier and captain of Christ, the aforesaid Lord Cromwell, as he was most studious of himself in a flagrant

zeal to set forward the truth of the Gospel, seeking all means and ways to beat down false religion and to advance the true, so he always retained unto him, and had about him, such as could be found helpers and furtherers of the same."

Cranmer boldly told Henry, "No king of England ever had such a servant; yet on July 28 Henry, without a trial, chopped off the head of England's most powerful minister. Why? Henry told Marillac, the French ambassador, "Cromwell, as attached to the German Lutherans, had always favored the doctors who preached such erroneous opinions." His sister was the ancestress of the great Oliver Cromwell.

"Like as in foreign battles the chief point of victory consisteth in the safety of the general or captain, even so, when the valiant standard-bearer and stay of the Church of England, Thomas Cromwell I mean, was made away, pity it is to behold what miserable slaughter of good men and good women ensued thereupon. . . . For Winchester, having now gotten his full purpose, and free swing to exercise his cruelty, wonder it was to see . . . what troubles he raised in the Lord's vineyard. And lest, by delays, he might lose the occasion presently offered, he straightways made his first assaults upon Robert Barnes, Thomas Garret, and William Jerome, whom in the very same month, within two days of Cromwell's death, he caused to be put to execution." They were burned without a trial - "detestable heretics. who had conspired together to set forth many heresies; and taking themselves to be men of learning,



Smithfield, Where Barnes, Garrett, and Jerome were Burned July 30, 1540.

had expounded the Scriptures, perverting them to their heresies, the number of which was too long to

be repeated."

At the same time and place four others were done to death for "adhering to the Bishop of Rome." No wonder people asked what was the king's religion, and wondered what they must believe to save their necks. Henry did not want the Pope, and Henry did not want Luther, Henry wanted - Henry. As usual, Luther hit the nail on the head - "What Squire Henry wills must be an article of the faith for Englishmen, for life or death."

On August 8 Henry married Catherine Howard, a rigid Romanist, and the Catholic party, headed by Bishop Gardiner and the Duke of Norfolk, again had a free hand, and they made free use of it. "I never read the Scripture, nor never will read it: it was merry in England afore the new learning came up; yea, I would all things were as hath been in times past," said the powerful Duke of Norfolk, and he used his power to keep others from reading the Bible.

"Not long after the death of Cromwell great complaint was made to the king of the translation of the Bible and of the preface to the same; and then was the sale of the Bible commanded to be stayed, the bishops promising to amend and correct it, but never performing the same." Grafton, the king's printer. was imprisoned for six months and then bound in three hundred pounds to keep him from printing more Bibles.

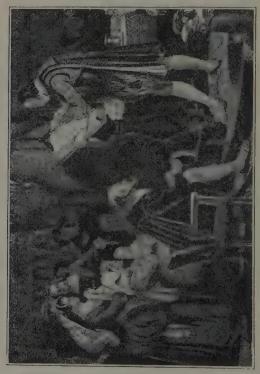
"For participating in the heresies of Robert Barnes" bloody butcher Bishop Bonner burned **[1121**

Richard Mechins — fifteen years old. "The poor well feeleth the burning of Dr. Barnes and his fellows which labored in the vineyard of the Lord," wrote Henry Brynklow in The Lamentacyon of a Christen Agaynste the Cytye of London.

John Porter was a fresh young man and of a big stature; he could read well and had an audible voice and great multitudes would resort to St. Paul's to hear him read the Bible. Bishop Bonner sent him to Newgate. "He was miserably fettered in irons, both legs and arms, with a collar of iron about his neck fastened to the wall in the dungeon." He was placed among felons and murderers, "where Porter, hearing and seeing their wickedness and blasphemy. exhorted them to amendment of life and gave unto them such instructions as he had learned from the Scriptures; for which his so doing he was complained on, and so carried down, and laid in the lower dungeon of all, oppressed with bolts and irons. where, within six or eight days after, he was found dead."

In 1541 an Englishman came with an introduction from Osiander and stayed with Luther; when leaving, he left his boy. The father never came back, and Luther had to put the boy into an orphan asylum. Married priests fled to Germany and complained of the cruel edicts of Henry. In the same year appeared A very godly defense full of lerning, defending the marriage of priests, gatthered by Philip Melancthon, and sent unto the Kyng of England, Henry the aight. Translated out of Latine into English by Lewis Beauchame. Lipse, Printed by Ulryaht Hoffe.

Miles Coverdale.



First Bible Reading in St. Paul's, 1541.

Henry ordered a special thanksgiving service for a virtuous wife on November 1; the next day Cranmer had to open the king's eyes to his queen's adulteries; on February 13, 1542, Catherine Howard was beheaded.

IV. Coverdale Becomes a Lutheran Pastor in Germany.

Before being burned, Dr. Robert Barnes made a glorious confession of his faith. It was translated into German the same year with an introduction by Luther, in which he erects a beautiful monument to "our good, pious table companion and guest of our home, . . . this holy martyr, St. Robertus." "The patrearcke of Garmyne, Marten Luther," as George Everat called him in the Privy Council, sang Dido's farewell to life as the Queen of Carthage burned herself, and said to Mathesius, "That is a death-song for Robert Barnes."

The gentle Melanchthon piously wished an able tyrannicide might kill that monster Henry.

When John Standish attacked Barnes's confession sentence by sentence, besmirched the memory of the martyr, and sneered at "the doctrine of the Germans," Coverdale gallantly sprang to the defense of his martyred friend in a Confutation of that Treatise which one John Standish made agaynst the protestacion of D. Barnes in the yeare 1540, wherein Holy Scripture (perverted and wrested in his sayd treatise) are restored to their own true understanding agayne by Myles Coverdale.

The preface is bold: "Is it not a great worship for him to wrestle with a shadow and to kill a dead man? Is he not a worthy soldier, that all the battletime thrusteth his hand in his bosom; and when men are dead, then draweth out his sword and fighteth with them that are slain already? . . . If Dr. Barnes died a true Christian man, be ye sure, his death shall be a greater stroke to hypocrisy than ever his life could have been. If he was falsely accused to the King's Highness and so put to death, woe shall come to those accusers, if they repent not by times. And if Dr. Barnes in his heart, mouth, and deed committed no worse thing toward the King's Highness than he committed against God in these his words at his death, he is like at the Latter Day to be a judge over them that were cause of his death, if they do not amend. . . . Though he had deserved to be roughly handled, yet do I purpose, by God's only grace, to deal more gently with him being alive than he doth with the dead."

He repels the attack sentence by sentence and says with great spirit: "This is now the doctrine of the Germans. . . . Such doctrine now, though it be approved both by the Holy Scripture and by St. Augustine, yet because the Germans teach it, it must needs be condemned of you for an error. I wonder ye condemn them not also . . . for setting their priests daily to preach the only Word of God, for bringing no new customs unto the Church; for avoiding whoredom and secret abomination from among their clergy, as well as among other; for bringing up their youth so well in the doctrine of

God, in the knowledge of tongues, in other good letters and honest occupations, for providing so richly for their poor, fatherless, and aged people," etc.

He ends very pointedly with "Iacobi iij."—"Yf ye haue a bytter zele, and there be contencions in youre hartes, make no boast, nether be lyars agaynst the trueth."

Coverdale sought safety in flight. He married Elizabeth Macheson, sister of the wife of McAlpine, who had fled from Scotland on the burning of Patrick Hamilton and was now helping to translate the first Danish Bible. He went to Tuebingen, where he got his D. D. In 1542 appeared The acts of the disputation in the cowncell of the empyre, holden at Regenspurg; that is to say, all the artycles concerning the christen relygion, both agreed upon and not agreed upon, even as they were proposed of the emperor unto the nobles of the empire, to be judged, delebered and debated, etc. Translated out of Lature into English by Mulus Coverdale.

Between 1543 and 1547 he was Lutheran pastor and teacher at Bergzabern in Zweibruecken. On April 15, 1545, Richard Hilles, a London merchant, writes: "He... is truly one who is very dear, and honorably esteemed by all the ministers of the Word and other learned men in these parts.... By translating in his leisure hours, for the sake of the extensive advancement of the kingdom of Christ, various religious works into our language... he is of very great service in promoting the Scriptural benefit of those persons in the lower ranks of life, who are anxious for the truth and inflamed with zeal and desire of obeying the will of God. He is one of

those, who, after the example of Moses, rather choose to be banished than with a wounded conscience enjoy the pleasures of sin in their native Egypt."

In these years Coverdale wrote a number of letters to Conrad Hubert, a native of Bergzabern and paster of St. Thomas at Strassburg. In Germany he went by the name of Michael Anglus.

Luther's Smalcald Articles were written in 1536, published in 1538, and Englished in 1543 — The last wil and last confession of martyn luthers faith concerning the principal articles of religion which are in controversy, which he will defend and maintaine until his death, against the pope and the gates of hell, drawen forth by him at the request of the princes of germany which have reformed their churches after the gospel, to be offered up at the next general council in their names & now published before that all the world may have an evydent testimony of his faith.

There also came out -

The chiefe and pryncypall Articles of the Christen faythe, to holde againste the Pope and al Papistes and the gates of hell, with other thre very profitable and necessary bokes. . . . Made by Doctor Marten Luther. Imprinted for Gwalter Lynne, 1548. London.

Like the foregoing, this is Luther's Will and Smalcald Articles, and in addition Of the ryght Olde Catholyke Churche and the new false Church, Of the Symboles or Confessyons of the Christen Faythe, A singular and fruteful manner of praying, and A prayer against the Pope and the Turkes.

In 1543 Parliament enacted that no women (except noble- or gentlewomen), no artificers, apprentices, journeymen, servingmen, husbandmen, or laborers should read to themselves or to others, publicly or privately, any part of the Bible under pain of imprisonment.

On July 12 Henry married his sixth wife, the twice-widowed Kateryn Parr. Coverdale, Latimer, and others had preached daily in her home, and now she protected the Protestants, preserved the Protestant University of Cambridge, and bore the cost of printing Erasmus's Paraphrases of the Four Gospels, edited by Nicholas Udal, the learned master of Eton, Roger Ascham calls her "the most erudite queen." She was a close student of the Bible and taught the principles of the Reformation to Edward VI. Elizabeth, Jane and Catherine Grev. and had Elizabeth and even Mary translate passages from the gospels. She wrote The Lamentation of a Sinner, one of the finest specimens of English of that age, in which she shows that all good works arise from the inspiration of the Spirit of God. vouchsafed through belief in Christ, derived from prayer and diligent perusal of the Scriptures. She was "very zealous toward the Gospel and the professors thereof, . . . oftentimes wishing, exhorting, and persuading the king, that as he had, to the glory of God and his eternal fame, begun a good and a godly work in banishing that monstrous idol of Rome, so he would thoroughly perfect and finish the same, cleansing and purging his Church of England clean from the dregs thereof, wherein as yet remained great superstition."

Wily Winchester warned the king how perilous it was "to cherish a serpent within his own bosom." The king at once gave him a warrant to draw up "certain articles against the queen, wherein her life might be touched." Kateryn, however, learned about the conspiracy and satisfied Henry. When Wriothesley came "with forty of the king's guards at his heels, with purpose indeed to have taken the queen," Henry called him "knave, yea, arrant knave, beast, and fool," and sent him about his business. Kateryn, "happily for that time and ever, escaped the dangerous snares of her bloody and cruel enemies for the Gospel's sake." Strickland calls her the nursing-mother of the Reformation and its glory.

In 1543 Henry tried to prove his Catholic orthodoxy to the Kaiser. The next year he needed the Lutherans against the Kaiser and spoke of the points of agreement between the Anglicans and the Lutherans. In November he sent Walter Bucler and Christopher Mundt, or Mont, to Philip of Hessen to form a defensive league to take in Denmark, Holstein, and other countries. In February, 1545, Henry wrote himself, offering Mary or Elizabeth to the Duke of Holstein, and protesting "that ther is no Prince nor man in the woorlde that desyreth more the glorye of God, and meaneth more the true setting furth of His Woord than we do. We have one common and certain enemy, the Bishop of Rome, and a like zeal and meaning for the right and sincere setting furth of God's glorve and His holy Woord"; and he suggested that a joint commission upon religion might find a basis of agreement, "either party somewhat relenting from extremities and framing themselves to a godly in-



Landgrave Philip of Hessen.

differency and moderation—the agreement and conclusion must needs ensue of said meeting." Duke Maurice of Saxony offered to serve under Henry F1211

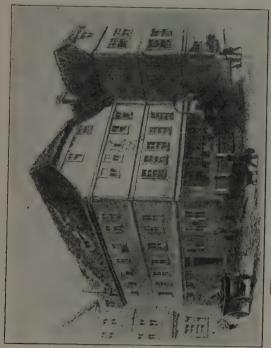
against France, and the Landgrave undertook to join him with 12,000 men. The union failed, for the Elector could not trust the king.

"Cranmer had almost prevailed with the king to make some further steps in a reformation. But Gardiner, who was then ambassador at the emperor's court, being advertised of it, wrote the king that the emperor would certainly join with France against him if he made any further innovation in religion. This diverted the king from it." There came out The dysclosyng of the canon of ye popysh Masse, with a sermon annexed unto it, of ye famous clerk of worthy memory D. Marten Luther. Apocal, XVIII: "Come away from hyr my people, that ye be not partakers in her synnes."

The Council of Trent opened as the Reichstag of Worms met in 1545. Here a fiery Franciscan in a sermon called on Karl to crush the Lutherans at once—"Each day new thousands of souls are in peril of damnation through the madness of these men, and of you the account will be demanded."

Since the preacher was not punished, the Land grave in alarm again tried to get the Protestants to unite with Henry, but failed; Henry would not accept their conditions. He was refused by the Bund of Schmalkalden at Frankfurt in January, 1546.

Luther died February 18, and John Bale printed The true Historie of the Christen Departynge of the Reverend Man D. Martyn Luther, collected by J. J. J. (onas), M. C. (oelius), and J. A. (urifaber) which were present thereat, and commended Luther as



Where the Bund of Schmalkalden Met.

a saint. Gardiner promptly protested against such "very pernicious, seditious, and slanderous" books.

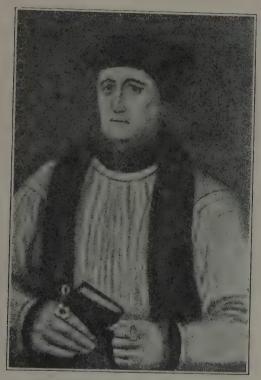
On July 23 Dymmock at Bremen sent Lord Paget a colored woodcut of the aged Reformer made by "A. S."

On January 27 Bishop Hooper wrote: "As far as true religion is concerned, idolatry is nowhere in greater vigor. The king has destroyed the Pope, but not popery." On May 15 Bishop Bonner reported that the country was reputed to be more infected with heresy than at any time within the last three or four years. On July 16 Anne Askewe, helpless from torture, was carried on a chair to Smithfield and burned to death for denying transubstantiation.

The good Catholic Bishop Cardiner wrote the devil "procured out pardons from Rome, wherein heaven was sold for a little money, and to retail that merchandise the devil used friars for his ministers." Cardinal Sadoleto admitted: "The loving-kindness and mercy of God should not be sold for money."

Henry sent John Masone to Heidelberg, in May, to offer Mary to Duke Philip, nephew of Frederick II of the Pfalz, lately turned Lutheran. The German Elector refused the king of England.

Henry intended to change the mass into the Holy Communion. He saw the dangers threatening the German Lutherans from the Kaiser and in August again stretched out his hand to help them in the offensive and defensive "League Christian," in which he desired "nothing more than the sincere union and conjunction of them all together in one godly and Christian judgment and spirit in religion,



Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester.

following the Holy Scriptures or the determination of the Primitive Church."

Again he asked that their "learned men" come over to settle with him their minor differences and

"so, they being united and knit together in one strength and religion, it might be called indeed a very Christian league and confederacy."



John Frederick, Elector of Saxony.

In September the Lutherans refused Henry's helping hand by demanding impossible conditions. The Elector John Frederick of Saxony personally disliked Henry and trusted in the false promises of the French.

On September 26 books of Tyndale and Barnes and the Bibles of Coverdale and Tyndale were burned.

By "using marvelous excess in eating and drinking," the handsome, athletic, auburn-haired Harry had become so swollen in bulk that he could not pass through an ordinary door and had to be moved upstairs by machinery. He was bloated in face and had a mass of loathsome infirmities, the festering sores of his swollen and ulcerated legs causing an unbearable stench. His death was due primarily to syphilis; it came on January 28, 1547.

The Saxon Elector at once sent agents to beg English help. On March 10 Paget, the most astute English statesman of the day, sent them back with a "loan" of 50,000 crowns "as of himself," in secret; it was not to appear as the doing of the government.

Too late! The Kaiser perfidiously began the Smalcald War and, largely by the help of Duke Moritz of Saxony, on April 24 crushed the Lutherans at Muchlberg, where the gallant, bleeding Elector fell into the hands of the Kaiser, on whom the Pope promptly urged that now was the time for the "expedition into Britain."

V. Coverdale Gets Out the First English Lutheran Hymnal.

On July 8, 1546, Coverdale's Bibles and other books were forbidden to be imported, bought, sold, or kept. Among these was the Goostly Psalmes and Spirituall Songes drawen out of the holy Scripture, for the comforte and consolacyon of such as love to

Gooffly plaines and spiritual longes brawen out of the holy Scripture, for the coforte and confolacyon of loch as love coretople in God and his worde.

Dfal.c.rlbt.

O prayle the Lorde, for it is a good thinge to fynge prayles but o oure God.

Collo.iii.

Teach a exhorte your awne selves with Psal mes a Hymnes a spirituall songes. Taco. v.

pfeny of you be mery, let him linge Plalmes

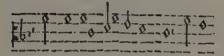
Co the boke.

To lytle boke, get the acquaintaunce Amonge the louers of Gods worde Beuethem occasvon the same to auaunce And to make they longes of the Loide That they may thrust buder the borde All other balettes of frithrnes And that we all with one accorde Day gene ensample of goodpies d Go lytle boke amonge mens chylozen And get the to they; companye Ceach them to lynge & comaundementes ten And other balettes of Goos glozve Be not alhamed I warande the Though thou be rude in longe and tyme Thou halt to youth some occasion be In godly sportes to palle they tyme.

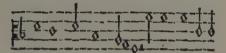
reioyse in God and his worde. Imprynted by me Johan Gough. By these hymns Coverdale would induce people to "thrust under the borde all other ballettes of fylthynes" and "in godly sportes to passe theyr tyme."

This first English hymn-book was a Lutheran [128]

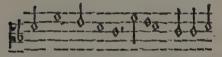
andspirituall songes. Fo.rrb. The.rlb.Plaline of Dauid. CDeus nofter refugium.



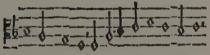
Dure God is a Defence and towie /a good



armoure and good weape /be hath ben euer



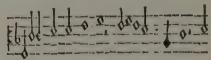
oure beloe and succure in all the troubles f



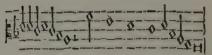
we have ben in/therfore wel we never drede

one; forty-one hymns of Luther and others were translated and printed with the original Lutheran melodies. And so the Rev. H. Leigh Bennett, prebendary of Lincoln Cathedral, says truly: "The English hymn-singing at the Reformation was the echo of that which roused the enthusiasm of Germany Miles Coverdale.

Gooffly pfalmes



for any woderous dede/by water or by lobe/in



hilles oz p fee fode our god hath the al this hod

2.£02. 1.8.

* C Chough we be alwaye greatly bered with many a areat tentacpon

per thanked be god we are refrellied his fwete worde conforteth oure manifon

* It is gods holy place 70.14

he dwellethhere by grace

* Imonge be ishe

ablal.z. 2Both nyaht and daye truly Act. 4. De helveth vs all and that fwyftly.

> The wicked beithen before be ftravtly And many great kyngdomes take they parte.

19 (at. 65.b. * They are gathered agapuft be truly Ind are fore moued in there herte But gods worde as cleare as danc Maketh them Wienke awaye.

under Luther." And Charles Harold Herford puts the book "among the most sincere and laborious monuments to Luther in the English language." Only one copy, a quarto, in Queen's College, Oxford, escaped the destruction under Bloody Mary, and so "unfortunately" its influence died away, as and spirituall longes. Fo. ertbi. The loide god of power Atondeth by the cucty house The god of Jacobis oute fit onge to wie #Come hether now beholde and fe

#Come bether now beholde and le The noble actes and dedes of the lozde what great thyinges he doth for wis daylye And conforteth wishish we worde for whan our enemies wolde fright Than brake he they inight

They, bowe and they, speare
So that we nede not feare)
Ind brent they, charettes in the syre.
Therfore speak god stake hede to me
Let me alone and I shall helpe you
known me for youre god I save onely
Image all heithen that reigne now
wherfore than shulbe we ducke

Seyinge we have no nede

* for the lorde god of power

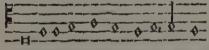
Stondeth by be every houre

The Cod of Jacob is oure fronge towe. The . C. rriit. Platine of David. 19 (a₁.

Malal.

65.8-

Ro.s.d



Except the loade had bene with bonow mare

Herford and Bennett lament. And Prof. Waldo S. Pratt of Hartford Seminary writes of Luther's hymns: "All this affluence and beauty of verse are in signal contrast with the flat and monotonous practises into which English psalmody settled a decade or two later. It is a lasting pity that English usage.

derived nothing from the German at this time." And F. Landon Humphreys, Mus. D., says: "It is a pity that the compilers of almost all hymn-books have failed to borrow as many of the German chorals as they should. Those *choraele* are so elevated and at the same time so simple and devotional that they are beyond question the most perfect models of hymn-tunes. It is humiliating to compare our collections with those in German churches."

The hymnal of Coverdale without the tunes was reprinted by the Parker Society. The following list is by Rev. James Mearns of Glasgow University, assistant editor of Julian's Dictionary of Hymnology:—

- 1. O Holy Spirite our comfortoure.
- 2. Come, holy Spirite, most blessed Lorde.

 Komm, Heiliger Geist, Herre Gott!
- 3. Thou holy Spirite, we pray to the. Nun bitten wir den Heiligen Geist.
- 4. God the Father, dwell us by.

 Gott der Vater wohn' uns bei.
- 5. These are the holy commaundments ten. Dies sind die heil'gen zehn Gebot'.
- 6. Man, wylt thou lyve vertuously. Mensch, wilt du leben seliglich.
- 7. We beleve all upon one God. Wir glauben all' an einen Gott.
- In God I trust, for so I must.
 In Gott gelaub' ich, dass er hat.
- 9. O Father ours celestiall.

 Ach Vater unser, der du bist
 [132]

- 10. O oure Father celestiall. Vater unser, der du bist.
- 11. Be glad now, all ye christen men.

 Nun freut euch, lieben Christen g'mein.
- 12. Now is oure health come from above.

 Es ist das Heil uns kommen her.
- 13. Christ is the only Sonne of God.

 Herr Christ, der einig' Gott's Sohn.
- 14. In the myddest of our lyvynge.

 Mitten wir im Leben sind.
- 15. By Adam's fall was so forlorne.

 Durch Adam's Fall ist ganz verderbt.
- Wake up, wake up, in God's name.
 Wach' auf in Gottes Name.
- 17. I call on the, Lorde Jesu Christ.

 Ich ruf' zu dir, Herr Jesu Christ.
- 18. Now blessed be thou, Christ Jesu. Gelobet seist du, Jesu Christ.
- 19. Christe is now risen againe.

 Christ ist erstanden von der Marter alle.
- 20. Christ dyed and suffred great payne. Christ lag in Todesbanden.
- 21. To God the hyghest be glory alwaye.

 Allein Gott in der Hoeh' sei Ehr'.
- 22. My soul doth magnyfie the Lorde.

 Mein' Seel' erhebt den Herren mein.
- 23. With peace and with joyfull gladnesse.

 Mit Fried' und Freud' ich fahr' dahin.
- 24. Helpe now, O Lorde, and loke on us. Ach Gott vom Himmel, sieh darein.

- 25. Werfore do the heithen now rage thus.
- 26. Our God is a defence and towre. Ein' feste Burg ist unser Gott.
- 27. Except the Lorde had bene with us. Wo der Herre nicht bei uns waer'.
- 28. At the ryvers of Babilon.

 An Wasserfluessen Babylon.
- Blessed are all that feare the Lorde.
 Wohl dem, der in Gottes Furcht steht.
- 30. Blessed are all that feare the Lorde.

 Wohl dem, der in Gottes Furcht steht.
- 31. O Lorde God, have mercy on me.
 O Herre Gott, begnade mich.
- 32. O God, be merciful to me.

 Erbarm' dich mein, o Herre Gott.
- 33. Out of the depe crye I to the.

 Aus tiefer Not schrei' ich zu dir.
- 34. I lyft my soule, Lorde, up to the...

 Von allen Menschen abgewandt.
- 35. God be mercifull unto us.

 Es wollt' uns Gott genaedig sein.
- 36. The foolish wicked men can saye.

 Es spricht der Unweisen Mund wohl.
- 37. Prayse thou the Lorde, Hierusale.
- 38. Beholde and se, forget not this.
- 39. O Christ, that art the lyght and daye. Christe, du bist Licht und der Taq.
- 40. O hevenly Lorde, thy godly worde.

 O Herre Gott, dein goettlich' Wort.
- 41. Let go the whore of Babilon.

VI. Coverdale Returns to England.

When, on the death of Henry, Rome rejoiced, Cardinal Pole told the Pope "that nothing would be gained by that event, for the young King Edward had been educated by preceptors of Lutheran and Zwinglian principles; that the council of regency was composed of persons of the same class; and, to complete all, his uncles and the queen-mother were more obstinate in their heresies than all the rest."

The English Bible was first used at the crowning of "that godly Josias, that swiet lambe of God," King Edward VI. "When three swords were brought, signs of his being king of three kingdoms, he said there was one yet wanting. And when the nobles about him asked him what that was, he answered, 'The Bible. That book is the Sword of the Spirit and to be preferred before these swords.' . . . And when the pious young king had said this and some other like words, he commanded the Bible with the greatest reverence to be brought and carried before him."

His maternal uncle, the Duke of Somerset, made himself the Protector. He was a handsome man, of pure morals and strong convictions, and at once made radical religious changes and became "the first Protestant ruler of England." In March, 1547, he most likely himself wrote the preface to the new communion office, and in November the Holy Communion was celebrated in both kinds. Cranmer's leanings were then Lutheran, and, horrors! "this year the Archbishop of Canterbury did eat meat



Edward VI.

openly in Lent, in the Hall of Lambeth, the like of which was never seen since England was a Christian country." The images were removed from the churches, and the Bloody Statute was repealed. [136]

In 1548 the Psalms and Litany were sung in English, and Somerset published *The V Abominable Blasphemies Conteined in the Masse*, and the marriage of priests was allowed soon after.

The Coniectures of the ende of the worlde and of that godly and learned man, Andrew Osiander, was translated by Joye, and the end was to come some time between 1585 and 1625.

At this time Justus Jonas, Jr., was with Cran mer and presented him with volumes I and II of Luther's works.

Now appeared Catechismus; That is to say a shorte Introduction into Christian Religion for the syngular commoditie and profyte of childre end yong people. Set forth by the moste reverende father in God Thomas Archbyshop of Canterbury, Primate of all England and Metropolitane. What is it? A translation of Justus Jonas's Latin version of the Nuernberger Kinderpredigten, sermons on Luther's Small Catechism by Osiander and Schleupner, widely used in Germany and translated into various languages.

Cranmer loved Germany for many reasons, — his wife was a niece of Andreas Osiander of Nuernberg, — "but chiefly, and above all, because here the light of the Gospel began first to break forth and display itself, to the spiritual comfort and benefit of other nations," says Strype. No wonder the young Swiss student, John ab Ulmis, on August 18, in great disgust wrote Bullinger: "All the dreams of Luther seem to him sufficiently well grounded, perspicuous, and lucid."

On October 29 John Burcher, then at Strassburg, wrote: "The Archbishop of Canterbury, moved, no doubt, by the advice of Peter Martyr and other Lutherans, has ordered a catechism of some Lutheran opinions to be translated and published in our language. This little book has occasioned no little discord, so that fightings have frequently taken place among the common people on account of their diversity of opinion, even during the sermons."

Richard Argentine, a physician, got out A ryght notable Sermon made by Doctor Martyn Luther upon the twentieth chapter of Johan of absolution and the true use of the keyes, full of great comforte.

To Anne Boleyn's daughter, the future Queen Elizabeth, was dedicated A frutefill and godly Exposition and declaration of the kyngdom of Christ and of chrysten lubertue made upon the words of the Prophete Jeremye in the XVIII chapter, with an exposycyon of the VIII Psalme, intreating of the same mater by the famous clerke Doctor Martyn Luther, whereunto is annexed a Godly sermon of Doctor Urbanus Rhegius upon the IX Chapter of Mathews. . . . Translated out of the hyghe Almayne Gwalter Lynne London, 1548. In the following year Lynne published A briefe collection of all such testes of the Scripture as do declare the most blessed and happie estate of them that be with suckness . . . whereunto are added two frutefull and comfortable sermons made by the famous clerke Doctor Martyn Luther.

Urbanus Rhegius, the Kaiser's Orator and Poet Laureate and Lutheran reformer, was quite popular, judging from the number of his works translated:— A Declaration of the twelve articles of the Christen fayth . . . by D. Urbanum Regium, printed by Jugge, 1548.

An Instruccyon of Christen fayth . . . made by Vrbanus Regius, printed by Hugh Singleton.

The olde Learnyng and the new compared together . . . newly corrected and augmented by Wyllyam Turner. Translated from Urban Regius. Printed by Stoughton, 1548.

A lytle Treatise after the maner of an Epistle wryten by the famous Clerk Doctor Vrbanus Regius, printed by Walter Lynne, 1548.

The Sermon which Christ made on the way to Emaus to those two sorrowfull disciples, set downe in a dialogue by D. Urbane Regius, with A brefe ingresse to the Christian Reader by John Foxe. printed by John Day, 1578.

A homelie or sermon of the good and evill Angell, by Urbanus Regius, translated by Rich. Robinson, printed by John Charlwood, 1590.

Solace of Sion, and Joy of Jerusalem, 87 Psalm, by Vrbanus Regius, translated by Rich. Robinson, printed by Richard Jones, 1594.

"I am now on my return to England having been invited thither after an exile of eighteen years," wrote Coverdale from Frankfurt on March 26, 1548. He was made a chaplain of Edward VI and almoner of Queen Kateryn Parr. When she died on September 5, Coverdale preached the funeral sermon, "which was very good and godly, and in one place thereof he took occasion to declare unto the people how that they should none there think, say, or

spread abroad, that the offering which was there done was done anything to benefit the dead, but for the poor only; and also the lights, which were carried and stood about the corpse, were for the honor of the person, and for none other intent nor purpose'; and so went through with the sermon, and made a godly prayer, and the whole church answered and prayed the same with him in the end. The sermon done, the corpse was buried, during which time the choir sang *Te Deum* in English." This is the first royal funeral solemnized according to Protestant rites.

On March 17, 1549, Coverdale preached, and then the Dean of St. Paul's pulled down some objects of papal superstition. Gardiner in his Bishop's English called such people "hogs and worse than hogs." When the "altars of Baal," such as "did adulterate God's glory," were pulled down, "Those idolatrous altars are now become hogsties," wrote another.

On April 27 Coverdale preached at St. Paul's Cross, when an Anabaptist "bare a fagot," recanted. He went with Lord Russel against the Western rebels and preached the victory sermon.

In June, Hilles wrote Bullinger: "We have a uniform communion of the Eucharist throughout the entire realm, yet after the manner of the Nuernberg churches and some of the Saxons. The bishops and magistrates present no obstruction to the Lutherans." As to Baptism, Bishop Laurence admits: "The office of our Church is principally borrowed from the Lutherans."

Christopher Mont writes the Duke of Somerset a Letter on the Progress of Lutheranism in Ger-

many from Strassburg, October 10.

With Archbishop Cranmer, the bishops of Ely, London, Lincoln, Sir John Cheke, Latimer, Dr. Parker, later archbishop of Canterbury, Coverdale was one of the thirty-one ordered in January, 1550, to punish the Anabaptists and others refusing to administer the Sacraments according to the Book of Common Prayer.

In the same year he Englished Otto Wermueller's Spyrytuall and moost precious Pearle, teachynge all men to love & embrace ye crosse as a most swete and necessarye thinge unto the soule. For this work the Duke of Somerset, then in the tower, wrote a preface, in which he says: "In our great trouble, which of late did happen unto us, as all the world doth know, when it pleased God for a time to attempt us with His scourge, and to prove if we loved Him, in reading this book we did find great comfort, and an inward and godly working power, much relieving the grief of our mind." On January 22 he was beheaded, rejoicing in the work he had done for the Reformation.

About this time the likenesses of Luther and Melanchthon were to be found everywhere in London, and the historian Green declares England was half Lutheran.

On May 5, 1550, Bishop Ridley would reform his diocese of London and in a visitation inquired "Whether your ministers . . . have committed adultery, fornification, incest, bawdry, or to be vehemently suspected of the same, common drunkards,

scolds, or be common swearers or blasphemers of God's holy name? Whether every . . . priest doth personally by himself preach twice every year at least ... ?"

About this time Bishop Hooper of Gloucester held a visitation and found that out of 311 clergymen 171 could not repeat the Ten Commandments, 10 could not repeat the Lord's Prayer, 27 could not tell who was its Author. John Dumbell (!), vicar of South Cerney, knew the Lord's Prayer and knew it was the Lord's Prayer, "because it was delivered by our Lord the King and written in the King's Book of Common Prayer."

Coverdale preached at the funeral of Lord Wentworth in Westminster March 7, 1551, visited Magdalen College, Oxford, with Peter Martyr and others in May, became Bishop of Exeter on September 11. He "most worthilie did performe the office committed unto him, he preached continuallie upon euerie holie daie, and did read most commonlie twise in the weeke, in some church or other within this citie." He was hospitable, liberal, sober, and modest, and "his wife a most sober, chast, and godlie matron."

He was on a committee to revise the canon law. assisted by Dr. Robert Weston, later chancellor of Treland.

Towards the end of the year the German Lutherans sent over agents to invite English help for a revolt against the Kaiser, which was refused, for the success of Maurice of Saxony had freed England from the fear of Karl.

The health of our Lord the King broke down when he was fifteen; "eruptions on his skin broke out, his hair fell off, and then his nails, and afterwards the joints of his toes and fingers"; the end came on July 6, 1552. The syphilis of the father was visited upon his children.

A Dialogue describing the original ground of these Lutheran faccions, and many of their abuses. Compyled by Sir William Barlow, late byshop of Bath, came out in 1553. The "late byshop" admits the Lutheran "faccions" have better scholars, but denies they have better Christians.

Thirty-five Testaments and thirteen Bibles were printed in his short reign of six and a half years, and the public use of them was made the subject of special admonition and inquiry by the king. There were three new translations of Luther's books and five of Melanchthon's.

King Edward disinherited his Catholic sister Mary and also his Protestant sister Elizabeth and willed the crown to the "divine" Lady Jane Grey, who was proclaimed Queen on July 10 by the Council. For this the sweet girl later lost her head, for the country declared for Mary. On the 12th of August "she meaneth graciously not to compel and constrain other men's consciences," yet "she forbade . . . open reading of the Scriptures in the churches, or preaching by the curates, unless licensed by her." Such was the first blow aimed at the Protestant Church of England.

When a girl of six, she was engaged to the twenty-three-year-old Kaiser Karl V; now at thirty-six she married his twenty-six-year-old son Philip II of Spain, to the great disgust of all Englishmen.

When Bloody Mary became queen on July 5,



Mary Tudor, Known as Bloody Mary.

1553, Coverdale was cast into prison. Copies of the Bible set up in the churches were burned.

John Rogers, the translator of the Bible, was arrested; at his trial he explained and defended the [144]



John Rogers Burned February 4, 1555.

order of service used in the churches of Wittenberg; he was the first of the Protestant martyrs under Bloody Mary—burned on Monday, February 4, 1555. "This day was performed the confirmation of the alliance between the Pope and this kingdom by a public and solemn sacrifice of a preaching doctor named Rogers, who has been burned alive for being a Lutheran; but he died persisting in his opinion. At this conduct the greatest part of the people took such pleasure that they were not afraid to make him many exclamations to strengthen his courage. Even his [wife and ten] children assisted at it, comforting him in such a manner that it seemed as if he had been led to a wedding." So wrote Count Noailles, the French ambassador at London.

William Hunter, an apprentice of nineteen years, read the Bible, for which he was imprisoned. Bloody butcher Bishop Bonner said, "If thou wilt recant. I will make thee a freeman in the city and give thee forty pounds in money to set up thy occupation withal; or I will make thee steward of mine house and set thee in office, for I like thee well." The boy would not deny Christ. He would be damned forever, said Bonner. The boy did not waver. His father prayed that his son might go on to the end as he had begun. The mother said she was happy to bear a child who could find in his heart to lose his life for Christ's sake. On March 26 the boy hero in flames went to glory.

And so went Bishop Hooper of Gloucester, Bishop Ferrars of St. David's, Laurence Sandars, Rowland Taylor, and many more. A married woman with child was delivered in the flames, and the infant just rescued was tossed back into the fire. So revolting were these burnings that thirty-seven members of Parliament, headed by the Catholic Plowden, gave up their seats, though they were punished for it. At the end of such a fiery week, February 10, 1555, Alphonso di Castro, a Franciscan friar, confessor to King Philip, preached against these burnings before the court; he boldly declared the English bishops learned not, in Scripture, to burn any one for conscience' sake.

"Fat Bonner," "My Lord Lubber of London"—of him Sir James Mackintosh writes: "Bonner, whom all generations shall call bloody,' raged so furiously in the diocese of London as to be charged with burning half the martyrs in the kingdom." Gardiner, "the cutthroat of England," tried to cut the throat of the Princess Elizabeth. Said one of the Protestants, "We have the Word." "Aye," replied Weston, "but we have the sword."

The bodies of Bucer and Fagius were dug up and burned; the body of Peter Martyr's wife was flung on a dunghill to rot, though no heresy could be proved. The works of Coverdale, Cranmer, Latimer, Frith, and others were forbidden.

Richard Heath, who had been with Robert Barnes and Bishop Fox to consult with Luther at Wittenberg in 1536, was now Archbishop of York and Lord High Chancellor and as such killed no less than 217 persons for being Protestants, among them Archbishop Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer. These three were sometimes permitted to eat together in the prison of Bocardo. Strype says: "The prices of their provisions (it being now an extraordinary dear



Archbishop Cranmer.

time) were as follows. A goose, 14 d. A pig, 12 or 13 d. A cony, 6 d. A couple of chickens, 6 d. Half a dozen larks, 3 d. A breast of veal, 11 d. A shoulder of mutton, 10 d. Roast beef, 12 d."

Here is, for example, their first October din-

	d.
Bread and ale	2
Item, oisters	1
Item, butter	2
Item, eggs	
Item, lyng	
Item, a piece of fresh salmon	
Wine	
Cheese and pears	2
	0 ~ 6 4

At the trial Ridley said Christ was not the Sacrament, but was really and truly in the Sacrament, as the Holy Ghost was with the water at Baptism and vet was not the water.

Coming to the stake. Latimer said, "Be of good comfort, Master Ridley. Play the man; we shall this day light such a candle, by God's grace, in England as I trust shall never be put out." (October 16, 1555.)

Though Cranmer recanted, he was to be burned. He repented of his recantation and put his right hand into the fire first, March 21, 1556.

The expense of burning Ridley and Latimer:

	sh.	d.
For three loads of wood-fagots	12	0
Item, one load of furs-fagots	3	4
For the carriage of these four loads	2	0
Item, a post	1	4
Item, two chains	3	4
Item, two staples	0	6
Item, four labourers	2	8

For burning Cranmer:—			
For an 100 of wood-fagots	6	0	
For an 100½ of furs-fagots	3	4	
For the carriage of them	0	8	
To two labourers	1	4	

It seems the enemies cared more for burning these men than for paying the bills; Winkle and Wells, the bailiffs, spent more than sixty-three pounds and could collect but twenty.

There were 277 such burnings. "By imprisonment, by torment, by famine, by fire, almost the number of 400 were lamentably destroyed" in less than four years, said Lord Burleigh. Antoine de Noailles, the French ambassador, wrote to Paris: "The most beautiful spectacles one may see in this city and in all the countryside are the gibbets, hung with the heads of the bravest and most valiant men of the kingdom."

Against this "cursed Jesabel of England" John Knox, in 1558, blew *The First Blast of the Trumpet Against the Monstrous Regiment of Women* and gives a vivid picture of the horror created in the hearts of men by the atrocities of Bloody Mary.

Despite this reign of terror there came out A sermon of the great blasphemy agynst God whych the Papystes do use reading this Antechrystian Canon in theyr Mass—Luther's Greuel der Stillmesse.

Ponet's Politike Power has some curious thoughts on the effect of Mary's Romish reign — "Whan were euer thinges so deare in Englande, as in this time of the popish masse and other Idolatrie restored? Who euer hearde or redde before, that a pounde of beefe was at iiij. d. A shepe xx. s. A pounde of

Candelles at iiij. d. A pounde of Buttur at iiij. d. ob. A pounde of Chese at iiij. d. two egges a penie, a quatre of wheat lxiiij. s. A quatre of malt at i. s. or aboue: the people driven of hongre to grinde accornes for bread meale, and to drinke water in stede of ale?"

VII. Coverdale Again Pastor in Germany.

When Coverdale was languishing in a London prison to be sentenced to be burned, his brother-inlaw, McAlpine, got King Christian III of Denmark to write Bloody Mary in Coverdale's behalf on April 25, 1554. She replied he was only charged with a debt due her treasury. On a second appeal in September he could leave for "Denmark with two of his servants, his bagges, and baggage without any theire unlawful lette or serche"; likely his wife was one of the "servants." McAlpine received him heartily, and the King offered him a benefice; but he went to Wesel, in Westphalia, which harbored many English exiles, and "preached there no longe time, till he was sent for by Woulgange, duke of Bypont, to take the pastoral charge" of Bergzabern for a second time.

As a fruit of his travels he published his description of The order that the churche and congregation of Chryst in Denmark, and in many places, countres and cities of Germany doth use, not only at the holy supper of the lorde, but also at the ministracion of ye blessed Sacrament of Baptisme & holy Wedlocke.

Many Englishmen fled to Frankfort-on-the-Main; as early as 1527 "there was a whole pipe of them."

They were heartily received, given the Weissfrauenkirche for their services, and helped "to set up an university there for the maintenance of learning: wherein the readers constituted were, Dr. Horn, late Dean of Durham, for Hebrew; Dr. Mullins for Greek; and Dr. Bartholomew Traherne or Traheron, late Dean of Chichester, for the divinity lecture."

Strype says Duke Christopher of Wuerttemberg "had been very kind unto the English exiles, having at one time bestowed upon them at Strassburgh four or five hundred dollars, besides more given to them at Frankfort," which was duly acknowledged by Queen Elizabeth in 1563 to the Duke's representative. Dr. Edmund Grindal, Archbishop of Canterbury, 1576-1583, who on the death of Edward VI had fled to Strassburg, Speyer, and Frankfort and studied German, gratefully writes: "That England had so many bishops and other ministers of God's Word, which at that day preached the pure doctrine of the Gospel, was owing to Strassburg. . . . but above all the rest, to Frankfort. You received our people to harbor and, being received, embraced them with the highest humanity, and defended them with your authority. And if we should not acknowledge and speak of this piety of yours, we were, of all mankind, the most ungrateful." Wordsworth, in his Ecclesiastical Sonnets, XXXVII, "English Reformers in Exile," finds them -

> Scattering, like birds escaped the fowler's net, Some seek with timely flight a foreign strand; Most happy, reassembled in a land By dauntless Luther freed.

Soon these strangers had a fierce quarrel about the order of service. The radicals were led by John Knox and John Calvin, and Peter Martyr even told them to refuse to have their children baptized by Lutheran pastors; the chief pastor was Hardtmann Beyer, friend of Luther and Melanchthon. In March, 1555, Dr. Richard Cox arrived, one of the bright young Lutheran professors transferred from Cambridge to Cardinal Wolsey's new college at Oxford; he had tutored King Edward VI and helped prepare the Book of Common Prayer. Knox and Cox differed, and so the historical struggle between the Puritans and Churchmen, "the Knoxians and the Coxians," in Maitland's humor, began among the English exiles in Lutheran Germany.

At Geneva, in December, 1558, Coverdale signed a letter to the English exiles at Frankfort, congratulating them on the accession of Queen Elizabeth and praying them to put by all private quarrels.

Roger Edgeworth says: "When I was a young student in divinity, Luther's heresies rose and were scattered in this realm, which, in less space than a man could think, had so sore infected the Christian folk, first the youth and then the elders, that the king's Majesty and all Christian clerks in the realm had much ado to extinguish them. This they could not so perfectly quench, but that ever since, when they might have any maintenance by man or woman of great power, they burst forth afresh, even like fire hid under chaff. . . . This wicked 'New Learning' arose in Saxony and came over into England amongst us," and it is gotten "by study in the English Bible and in these seditious English books

that have been sent over from our English runagates now abiding with Luther in Saxony."—Sermons, London, Robert Caly, 1557.

Queen Elizabeth was taught by Richard Cox, one of the Lutheran "Germans" of Cambridge, and by Roger Ascham, who read with her, the first thing every morning, the Greek New Testament and also the *Loci* of Melanchthon — was it the copy he had sent her father? She was befriended by Anne of Cleves and Kateryn Parr, who had almost lost her Lutheran head at the hands of her loving lord King Henry. On a blank leaf of St. Paul's Epistles she wrote, when a prisoner at Woodstock:—

"August.— I walk many times into the pleasant fields of the Holy Scriptures, where I pluck up the goodlisome herbes of sentences by pruning, eat them by reading, chew them by musing, and lay them up at length in the high seat of memorie, by gathering them together, that so having tasted their sweetness I may the less perceive the bitterness of this miserable life."

Feria wrote Philip she believed in the real presence. When Queen Mary pressed her on transubstantiation, Elizabeth wrote:—

Christ was the word that spake it, He took the bread and brake it, And what His word did make it, That I believe and take it.

This was not Romish enough for Dr. Storey, who fiercely cried out "that it was of little avail destroying the branches as long as the root of all heresies were suffered to remain." And Archbishop Heath of



Queen Elizabeth.

York — whom we met with Luther at Wittenberg in 1536 — refused to crown the heretic.

When Elizabeth went from the Tower to Westminster on January 14, to be crowned next day,
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a pageant met her at the Little Conduit in Cheape, and "Truth, the daughter of Time," gave her an English Bible. "She, as soon as she had received the book, kissed it, and with both her hands held up the same and so laid it upon her breast with great thanks to the city therefor . . . to the great comfort of the lookers-on." Lord Bacon writes: "On the morrow of her coronation, it being the custom to release prisoners at the inauguration of a prince, ... one of her courtiers . . . besought her with a loud voice. That now this good time there might be four or five principal prisoners more released: those were the four Evangelists and the Apostle St. Paul, who had been long shut up in an unknown tongue, as it were in prison, so as they could not converse with the common people." The queen ordered "a copy of the whole Bible of the largest volume" to be set up in each church, and all were asked to "read the same with great humility and reverence, as the very lively Word of God."

She at once assured the Lutheran princes of Denmark, Sweden, and Germany of her Protestantism and her wish to cement a bond of union between all its professors.

Froude says she inclined to Luther and the Augsburg Confession and was dissatisfied "when doctrines equally heretical from the Lutheran point of view might be taught openly in the churches." Her chosen friends were "gentlemen abandoned, all of them, to the new religion," wrote De Feria to Philip of Spain, and De Silva wrote to him: "She had been advised to give up the Confession of Augsburg, to which she has professed to adhere." Pollard says

she represented the Book of Common Prayer as Lutheran to the German princes, whose aid she was seeking, and often sheltered herself behind the Augsburg Confession. She rebuked Henry of Navarre for turning Catholic to gain the crown of France. Il Schifanoya said that the English "with regard to religion live in all respects after the Lutheran fashion." Her famous "scholemaster," Roger Ascham, looked upon Lutheran Germany as "a place where Christ's doctrine, the fear of God, punishment of sin, and discipline of honesty were held in special regard."

The proud Pope Paul IV cursed Elizabeth's "new doctrine of liberty of conscience," yet he himself made use of some such liberty. The good Catholic "Philip of Spain was under sentence of excommunication and was encouraging the Lutherans, while the Pope was counting on the help of the Turks," writes Pollard.

John Aylmer, tutor of Lady Jane Grey, in exile attended the University of Jena, "having been entertained there to read in that university both Greek and Latin, and with the good love of those famous men, Flacius Illyricus, Victorius Strigelus, D. Schnepphinus (whom they term the other Luther), with divers others." He came near succeeding Erhard Schnepf in the Chair of Hebrew, being a good "Hebrician" as well as a good "Grecian." At Strassburg he printed An Harbarough for Faithful Subjects, in which he proves himself a genuine Jena Lutheran by pluckily striking out against "the Swingfieldians, the Maioranes, the Pelagians, the froward freewyll men, the Adiaphoristes, the Os-

drianistes, the newe Marcionistes, the Anabaptists, with infinite other swarms of Satanistes."

"When Queen Mary was extinct, whose reign was deeply besneared with blood," the poor exile became Elizabeth's Lord Bishop of London, and so "a man of both fortunes."

Like Luther, Aylmer recreated his health with the Lutheran sport of bowling. And he bowled on Sundays after the afternoon prayers, and defended himself by saying they did it at Geneva (!) and all over among Protestants. He said "Luther, who begat the TRUTH," was able "to set up the cross of Christ, to pull down the chair of Antichrist, to restore God's Word, to banish the devil's sophistry, to make of darkness light, of lies truth, of plain foolishness true wisdom, and, as it were, another Helena, to find out the cross of Christ hidden in the dunghill of devilish doctrine, covered with the rotten bones of Romish martyre, sinful saints, and counterfeit confessors."

In 1562 Bishop Grindal of London said many regard Luther as a god. "Luther has indeed deserved exceeding well of the Church, and is worthily of being celebrated by all posterity."

VIII. Coverdale Again Returns to England.

Old England seemed like home again to Coverdale. He preaches at the popular St. Paul's Cross on November 12, 1559; assists at the historic consecration of Archbishop Parker on December 17; preaches before the Lord Mayor, the Aldermen, and a large congregation on April 28, 1560; gets over the plague

and receives his D. D. from Cambridge in 1563; and the next year admits Bishop Grindal of London to the same degree. And yet this venerable veteran has



Preaching at Old St. Paul's.

to write: "How destitute I have been of a competent living . . . these ten years!"

Bishop Grindal writes Sir Wm. Cecil, secretary to the queen's majesty: "Surely it is not well that he who was in Christ before us all should be now in his age without stay of living. I cannot herein excuse us bishops." He offered Coverdale several places, which were declined; on March 3 he gave him St. Magnus at the foot of London Bridge, worth about 100 marks. Too poor to pay the first-fruits of over sixty pounds, he begs Archbishop Parker and Secretary Cecil to get the queen to excuse him from this payment - "I am going upon my grave, not able to live over a year. . . . If now that poor old Myles may be provided for, . . . I shall think this enough to be unto me as good as a feast," February 6, 1564. On March 18 the poor old soul rejoiced: "It hath pleased my said lord [Robert Dudley] of his goodness to send me word by Mr. Aldersley that the queen's highness hath granted my said petition already."

On March 25, 1566, he cannot appear before the archbishop "for that I am unwieldly, and could neither well travel by land nor altogether safely by boat."

Many called the surplice the "Antichrist's shyrte" and "the whore of Babylon's chemise," and Coverdale was one of those that did not conform to the liturgy, which was overlooked for a time. When, however, the government enforced the Act of Uniformity and Coverdale would not conform, he had to resign, with thirty-six others; on September 24 John Young took his place. Still he kept on preaching, for instance, eleven times in Holy Trinity in the Minories between November 1, 1567, and January 18, 1568. Many "ran after Father Coverdale, who took that occasion to preach the more constantly, but yet with much fear, so that it would not

be known where he preached, though many came to his house to ask where he would preach the next Lord's day." He "was a celebrated preacher, admired and followed by all the Puritans; but the Act of Uniformity brought down his reverend hairs with sorrow to the grave. He was buried in St. Bartholomew's behind the Exchange, and was attended to his grave with vast crowds of people" — on February 19, 1569, eighty-one years old.

On October 4, 1835, the three-hundreth anniversary of the first complete printed English Bible was celebrated with many sermons and medals in Coverdale's honor; a monument was built in 1837. When the church was razed in 1840 to make room for the new Royal Exchange, Coverdale's remains were reburied in a vault in the south aisle of St. Magnus.

During the first thirty years of Elizabeth's reign there were fifteen new translations of Luther's works, not counting a number of reprints. His popularity may also be seen from the fact that his name was given in baptism, the earliest instance known to us—Henry Roido Dudley Luther Plantagenet. Scandal calls him the son of the Virgin Queen.

"No religion at all," a cynical London citizen chalked on his door to escape trouble in the religious riots under the good Queen Bess.

On her death James VI of Scotland became James I of England, who authorized the King James Version of the Bible. His German Lutheran wife, Anne of Denmark, refused the Lord's Supper according to the Church of England; her funeral was "very dull." She was the mother of Charles I and Miles Coverdale.



James I.

of Elizabeth, who married the "goody Palsgrave," for a short time King of Bohemia. Through her the present royal family came to the throne of England.

In the first period, 1526—81, the English Reformation was largely Lutheran, and there were thirty

separate translations of the Reformer's works. Six new translations came out in the next period, ending 1665, when Calvinism made headway. Only one new translation appeared from 1665 to 1820, the period of worldliness, libertinism, and rationalism. From 1820 to 1918 there have been sixty-three new translations, some of them elaborate series in several volumes, and many of them frequently reprinted. "This is due partly to a revival of religious interest, partly to a greater reading of history and an historical perspective that gives Luther his true and enormous place in modern evolution. The hills disappear when we get a great distance from them, but the snow-capped mountains stand out grander than ever," says P. Smith.

The Table Talk had three translations, the first printed five times; the second, many times. The Commentary on Galatians had three translations and seventeen printings. The Liberty of a Christian Man had five translations and several additional reprints. One edition of Sermons was printed eight times. The Hymns and the Small Catechism have been translated a number of times.

Charles Harold Herford is quite correct in calling "Protestantism the most colossal witness to 'German influence.'"

Archbishop John Bramhall of Armagh, in Ireland, † 1663, said truly, "The name Protestant is one to which others have no right but by communion with the Luthreans."

Nicholas Lithenius, Swedish pastor of a Lutheran congregation in London in the seventeenth century, wrote a book proving "that the English Ref-

ormation was not inaugurated by disciples of Zwingli and Calvin, but by those of Luther, so that Luther, the great instrument of God in reforming the British Church, opened the way to England and Scotland to extricate themselves from papal servitude." Gairdner says "twenty Wyclifs, all highly popular in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, would not have brought about a Reformation." John Milton says: "Wyclif's preaching was soon damped and stifled by the Pope," and it was Luther that God made choice of to reform the Church.

Principal Wace of King's College in London says: "It ought never to be forgotten that for the assertion of the principles [of the Reformation] themselves, we, like the rest of Europe, are indebted to the genius and the courage of Luther.... It was one thing for Englishmen, several decades after 1520, to apply these principles, ... it was another thing to be the Horatius of that vital struggle."

Bishop Thorold of Rochester, England, says: "Luther towers above all the reformers as George Washington towers over the heroes of the revolution... England loves his memory; for what has he not done for her national and religious life? The free millions of the United States may well rise up and do him honor by cherishing his example, pondering his history, and maintaining his creed."

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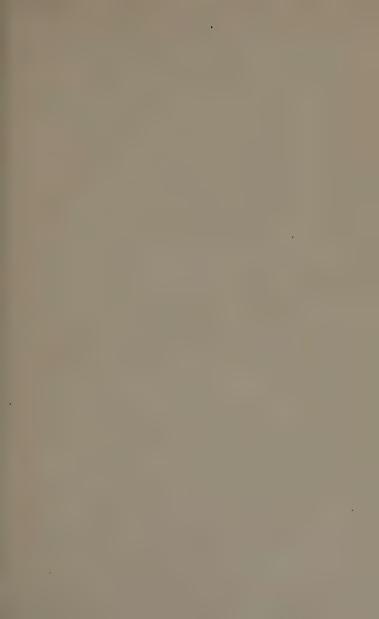
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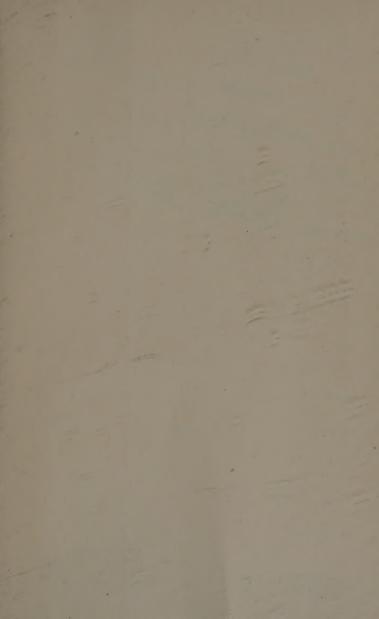
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